

THE  
**SOCIALIST  
STANDARD**

**1964**



# Socialist Standard

**WHERE  
ARE  
YOU  
GOING?**



IN THIS ISSUE

Health in the sixties  
Time off from work  
Coping with the car  
Schools today  
Increasing crime  
Gleaming gods



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 2nd and 16th Jan. 8 pm: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trevelyan Road, S.W.2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm: 3rd Jan. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. BEX 1950) and 17th Jan. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING**, See WEST LONDON.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rush Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursday 2nd January 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Watlington Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (8th Jan.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Every 2 weeks 13th and 27th Jan. 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (6th and 20th Jan.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (9th and 23rd Jan. in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th and 24th Jan.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neusdd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

Thursday, 30th January, 8 pm

Any Questions  
Discussion

## BRAINS TRUST

C. May  
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Main Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N.7.  
(near Finsbury Park Tube)

January 1964 Vol 60 No 713

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain and the World  
Socialist Party of Ireland



SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 pm.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting January 26th.

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## Where are you going?

If there is one idea which is firmly held by the majority of people in this country it is that they are now better off than ever before. In this, they are supported on all sides, by newspapers, television, and so on. The result of this, to take one example, is that the years between the wars are remembered as a time of hardship, unemployment and, in many countries, of political dictatorship. There is now a spate of books with the theme that the First World War was a futile, bloody business which cleverer, less avaricious leaders could have avoided. The obvious corollary of this concept of the past as a time of dark misfortune is that of the present as a time of bright opportunity. And this is now a very popular idea.

The first thing to be said about this idea is that it has always been popular. Whatever their conditions, people have always been convinced that they were a sight better off than in the past. The Twenties and Thirties were supposed to be years of enlightenment in which the hardships and prejudices of Victorian England had been finally cast aside. Victorian England was itself supposed to be a place in which the benefits of the Industrial Revolution were coming to fruition. Society at large has always regarded itself as lucky to be living in its present and has been glad not to have been living in its past.

The years since the war have been devoted to this idea. The commonest picture—the adman's picture, perhaps—of a member of the working class, in England in the Sixties, is of a bright, smooth young man who lives in a gracious house in a leafy suburb, has a charming, intelligent wife and a couple of children who will obviously one day make a name for themselves at University. This young man has a smart car, the latest furniture and clothes. His tastes are impeccably up to date. He has a well-paid job, and one with prospects. He is a man with a background—and with a future. Every line on his face, every hair on his head, shrieks of a comfortable, secure, modern living free from the disabilities of a discredited past.

Well, what is the truth of this?

This issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD sets out to take a look, at the beginning of another year, at the working class. It examines their working conditions, their education, their health, the pace at which they live. It takes a look at the way in which they spend their time off and are entertained. It poses some facts and some questions on problems like crime, which are as much a part of the Sixties as the adman's smooth talk. And it puts the question to the working class: Where Are You Going?

This question can be stated in many ways. Are working conditions really improving? What is happening to our health? Is modern education any good, and is it freely available to all of us? Can crime be eliminated, and if so, how? These questions, and many others, can be summarised into one enormous, overriding issue. Can capitalism give us the sort of life, the health, the abundance, the security, which all human beings should have? Can it offer the prospects of future security which a humane social system would take as a matter of course?

The so-called social surveys can never answer these questions, which probe into the very roots of private property society. Only a Socialist can ask whether the class ownership of society's means of wealth production is the best way of running human affairs, or whether it is wasteful and vicious and inhumane. It is by examining the lives of the people who work and suffer and, tragically, vote for capitalism that this question can be answered. This, within its limits, is what this month's SOCIALIST STANDARD offers. And behind the articles we publish is the biggest issue now facing the world working class.

Capitalism or Socialism? Where Are You Going?



## AT HOME

## Buchanan Report

ALMOST by stealth, the motor car has crept up behind us and hit us over the back of the head. At one time, the roads in this country were adequate to take the derisory, by present day standards, number of vehicles which wanted to use them. But, as anyone who has spent a couple of hours of his precious life in a traffic jam will know, it is now a very different story.

The Buchanan Report says that this could have been avoided, at least in part. And so it could—if somebody had been able to predict the car boom which followed the war and if the government had been willing to ignore the other priorities which were screaming for attention and if it had been prepared to invest colossal sums of money in town planning schemes of doubtful accountability.

In the event it was cheaper and more convenient, as it so often is, to try short term expedients, to patch up and hope for the best. Rather than rebuild the dyke properly, capitalism preferred to stick a finger in the hole, but the hole has got bigger and bigger and now the flood seems to be winning. Civilised town life, says Buchanan, is at stake.

But the solution offered by Buchanan, sound though it may be in terms of engineering and desirable though it may be in terms of personal comfort, has one big drawback. It would be very expensive; one informal estimate has put the cost at over £9,000 million.

Can anyone imagine British capitalism spending that amount on something

which, no matter what value it may have in protecting pleasant towns and the people in them, is of unproven economic value? *The Economist* of November 30th pondered on what it called the "economic criteria" which it hopes will be applied to the Buchanan proposals:

It (the investment required) is too large a part of the country's investment and too important to the population for decisions to come simply from sociological and architectural planners.

And at the moment, it seems, the decisions will not come from these quarters alone. Some sort of balance sheet will be required when consideration is given to reorganising the British road system. This will probably mean that the compromises of the post war years will continue, with each flyover, every widened road, each new confusion of traffic signs hailed as a solution. Meanwhile the motor car will carry on strangling us.

## What's your name

Now listen, there's this guy, his name is Duckworth, which is not such a bad name anyway, not as bad as Osgood or Clarke or any of the others in the buildings. But this Duckworth, when he makes twenty-one he wants to change his name anyway, he wants to add a bit to it. He wants to add Chad, which was his aunt's name, so he becomes Duckworth hyphen Chad.

Now we're all laughing because Chad reminds us of that awful face looking over the wall and saying, "wot no something or other." But Duckworth-Chad, he's not amused.

But his old aunt, she said in her will that if he took her name when he was twenty-one he could inherit a lot of money and a lot of land. To be precise, £79,000 in cash, a 2,000 acre estate with seven farms and a couple of villages and a mansion with forty rooms.

Not bad. Now I've worked it out and I reckon that if me and all the other guys in the Buildings worked until we were ninety-five and we didn't eat or smoke or take girls out we might just about save that £79,000. But I can't figure how we're going to make all that land and the rest and all.

Yes sir, Duckworth-Chad has done well for himself. If I had an aunt like his I'd be willing to change my name to Adolf Hitler, only if I did nobody'd give me any money, they'd most likely put me away. So I'll stick with Osgood. And

the Buildings.

But I'd like to meet the guy who wrote that old bit about what's in a name.

## POLITICS

## Closer and closer

ANYONE who believes that there is some basic difference between the Labour and Conservative Parties should ponder upon two recent examples of the ways in which they are daily growing more and more alike.

At their last Annual Conference the Labour Party announced a scheme to set up a state Land Commission which would be empowered to buy the freehold of land being sold for large scale development. This scheme was presented as yet another of the steps on the road to what the Labour Party calls Socialism. Perhaps some people believed that it was.

It would have been interesting to have seen their reaction to the announcement which Minister of Housing Sir Keith Joseph made in the House of Commons last November. He then said that "... land planned for major development should be bought well in advance by a public authority for disposal to private enterprise or to public enterprise. . . ." If this is not exactly the same sort of idea as Labour's Land Commission, it is as near to it as makes no odds.

The second example is in the matter of immigrant control. The Labour Party have always offered a formal resistance to the Commonwealth Immigrants Act; Gaitskill, in fact, attacked it strongly when it was a Bill before Parliament and when it came up for renewal last November Labour M.P.s voted against it.

When it suits them, the Labour Party offer this as evidence that they are opposed to the government in principle over this matter. But although they put up a show of fighting the Act which legally limits immigrants, the Labour Party is still in favour of some sort of control. They say that each Commonwealth country should exercise its own control voluntarily at the ports of exit, although they probably know that this is likely to be an unworkable method.

These examples are not coincidental. They are symptoms of the fact that basically the Labour Party is no different from its Conservative counterpart. Both stand for capitalism and so both must have policies which are relevant to capital-

ism's needs. Is it any wonder that as time goes by it becomes more and more difficult to tell them apart?

## BUSINESS

## Rootes take a gamble

THE Imp was the contribution which the Rootes Group made to the vehicles contesting for the market in small cars. This car came onto the scene some months back, heralded by all the usual admen's guff about its alleged superior qualities and style.

Rootes are now taking an anxious look at the Imp's balance sheet. They spent over £2 million in developing the car and it has contributed to their massive debts

—£3.76 million bank overdraft, a £5.57 loan from the Board of Trade and a £4 million mortgage.

This expensive baby is now expected—or rather hoped—by Rootes, to shortly be adding its own little bit to the family coffers.

But the minicar market is no easy one. BMC are already well dug in with their clever Miniminor and its variations. Vauxhall have recently come in with the Viva. There are also the several competing models imported from the Continent. And Ford, with their slightly larger, but keenly priced, small cars, are selling on the fringe of the market.

It would not be a surprise if one or more of the minicars turned out a commercial flop. (Ford have recently had just this experience with one of their bigger models—the Classic, now replaced by the Corsair.) If this happens to the

Imp, the situation will be aggravated for Rootes by the financial risks they have had to take to produce their minicar.

This is not to say that from the capitalists' angle the risks were unjustifiable, or unnecessary. Nobody can accurately forecast a market's ups and downs, and investment in a new car, which is often decided upon in an "up" period, can look pretty sick if, when the cars start rolling off the line a couple of years later, the market has turned down.

All investment is a gamble, but it is one which any company wishing to survive must take. The irony is that, just as the capitalist system itself forces the gambles, so its own vagaries provide the element of risk which so often upsets the gamblers' hopes.

Rootes are treading a very slim, very taut tightrope.

And it is a long way down.

## Kennedy and after

IT is part of the mystique essential to the leadership cult that the leaders themselves, dead and alive, are surrounded by myths. When they die in as dramatically horrible a way as the late President Kennedy, the myths may become more exaggerated than usual. Everyone, except for a few lunatics like the Deep South segregationists who cheered when they heard it, must have felt a chill of horror at the news of Kennedy's assassination. Everyone must feel for Mrs. Kennedy in her endurance of an experience to haunt her for the rest of her life. It is never pleasant to look upon the results of violence, especially the sort of which simmers beneath the garish shell of a city like Dallas.

But the world is larger than one man, no matter how powerful he may be—and Kennedy was a very powerful man indeed. The eminence of the people who attended his funeral is proof—if more proof were needed—of the fact that the United States stands supreme in world capitalism today. But whatever sympathy we may feel for Kennedy we also feel for the millions of other people who suffer under capitalism. We feel it for those who meet, without headlines, equally horrible deaths in wartime. However much we sympathise with Mrs. Kennedy in her grief, we have the same feelings for the relatives of those who died in battle, or in air raids. We feel for all

the unnecessary suffering which property society imposes on the human race—for the hunger and the fear and the cruel struggle that is so often the business of living.

Because we feel these things, and want to do something about them, we are Socialists. And because we are Socialists we try to dispel the myths which help to sustain capitalism, no matter what or whom they concern.

The first notion we have to examine is the one which is held, in different ways, by the man who shot the President and by the people who applauded, and by those who grieved, his death. This is the notion that murdering Kennedy will substantially alter the course of history. Predictably, there have been many comparisons with the assassination of Abraham Lincoln at the end of the American Civil War. Yet Lincoln's murder did not change anything. It did not alter the fact that the North had won and that as a result the American Union would continue to be solidified and to develop into the great power that it is today. If the American Negro is still, in many parts of the United States, held in near slavery, that is only because one of the real factors in the moulding of history—the massive will of a people—wants him to remain so and not because a man who is mistakenly supposed to have stood for Negro freedom was murdered.

In the same way, the policies which Kennedy followed, whatever superficial effect he himself had upon them, were basically determined for him by the conditions of his time. Kennedy, it is said, regarded politics as the art of the possible which means, among other things, that he tried to acknowledge the realities of modern capitalism. The new President Johnson lost no time in declaring that he, too, would work within these realities. Thus there will probably be no change in Washington's new attitude towards the Soviet Union. This attitude sprang, not from a change of heart on the part of Mr. Khrushchev, nor from a pacific impulse on the part of President Kennedy, but from the new balance of power after the rift between Russia and China. This rift, incidentally, was symbolised by different reactions to the news of Kennedy's assassination—regret in Moscow, jubilation in Peking. This situation has brought about a change in Russo-American relations: American policy is now the compound of firmness and caution upon which the dead President put his stamp.

We are accustomed, now, to hearing such changes described as the actions of peace-loving leaders. President Johnson has run true to form on this; in his first speech to Congress he said:

We will be unceasing in the search for peace—resourceful in our pursuit of areas

## Companion Parties

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

## WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass



of agreement even with those with whom we differ—and loyal to those who join with us in common cause.

There will, too, be no change on civil rights. Racial intolerance is a considerable obstacle to the advance of organised industry in some parts of America; any government which faces modern realities must be opposed to it. Here was one of Kennedy's greatest difficulties. He knew the importance of desegregation but he also knew that to push a programme of equal rights would cost him votes. And so it did. He was, in fact, in Texas in an effort to heal a split in the local Democratic ranks, and to rally support for his presidential campaign next year, when he was shot down.

The Kennedy policies, then, will continue because they expressed the conditions and the needs of American capitalism today. If some Congressmen opposed them, if fanatical racist Senators from the South persisted in regarding Kennedy as a dangerous revolutionary, that is only a measure of the fact that they reflect the ignorance of the people who elected them. This ignorance need not concern only such things as class consciousness; it can also apply, as it does in the case of racial intolerance, to the realities of modern capitalism. Johnson will also do his best to make the United States face these realities. "I hate this as much as you do," he once shouted at some obstinate Congressman,

"But this is happening." Which is a typically Texan way of summing it up.

Kennedy's image was of a gracefully relaxed, yet energetically driving, young man. A cultured, sincere man; a man whose good looks, background and accomplishments made him something of a model for every modern sales executive. Kennedy was rich enough to have had, and to have taken advantage of, a very good education. One report put his personal fortune at between £3½ million and £4½ million, and that of his father at something like £100 million. His social regime in the White House showed that he was deeply appreciative of the arts. But at the same time Kennedy was a very cool politician. He planned years ahead for his assault upon the Presidency. The manner in which he convinced the Democratic Party that his comparative youth and his Roman Catholicism did not weaken his power to attract votes was a classical example of his single-minded political campaigning. His professed sincerity and ideals did not prevent him, when he named Johnson as his Vice-Presidential candidate, from working the vote-catching compromise which is usual in American presidential elections. The campaign itself was a masterpiece, with Kennedy the man very much in control. Alistair Cook reporting the campaign for *The Guardian*, contrasted the possible reactions of the candidates if they lost. Nixon, he thought, would take defeat bitterly but Kennedy would not let it worry

him—he would "sleep sound o'nights."

There is no reason to suppose that Kennedy's death will basically change anything. Perhaps there will be different decorations at the White House, or fewer famous musicians performing there. But the ideas and the policies which come out will be to all intents and purposes the same as if Kennedy were still alive. This is what American investors thought; Wall Street slumped when the President was shot, but a couple of days later it recovered with a rise the like of which has not been seen for over thirty years. The Stock Exchange in London, and its equivalent in other capitals, were also not slow to express their opinion that, whoever is in the White House, capitalism is going to live on.

The Cuban crisis made Kennedy the first man ever to have wielded, in apparent earnest, the threat of nuclear war as an instrument in capitalism's international disputes. The manner in which he handled that crisis may be enough to set him down as one of the world's more incisive leaders. Because of this, he will be buried in the myth that a leader's political skill, or lack of it, substantially alters history. In fact, Kennedy was very much like the men who were Presidents before him, and the man who has succeeded him. He worked within the art of the possible. Perhaps at times he hated what he was doing yet was compelled to do it—because it was happening.

IVAN.

## essential reading

The Case for Socialism	1/-
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

## Branch News

Readers of the December issue who ordered a year's subscription for the *Socialist Standard* should be feeling justified on seeing the first issue for 1964. Those who did not send in their subscription form are reminded now, and with this special issue as an example of Socialist literature subscription forms should now be pouring into Head Office. The more Standards sold, the less the overall cost and other fields of propaganda can be embarked upon with more cash in the "kitty".

Wembley Branch have had a most successful literature canvass—all their *Standard* stock was sold out, the latter part of the canvass was in a new area for the Branch—Queen's Park. The canvassers were impressed by the interest taken, some people bought two copies and asked that they be called on again.

Mid-Herts. Group have been operating for just over a year. Much progress has been made and it is hoped to arrange a series of meetings in the New Year based upon the policies of the Conservative, Liberal and Labour Parties. These may take the form of discussion debates or a lecture

from a Party speaker. When these arrangements are complete it is hoped to have leaflets printed and distributed to advertise the events.

South East Essex Branch holds its first meeting of the New Year on Monday, January 13th and will then meet every two weeks from that date.

During last month's by-election in *Marylebone*, our local Branch members produced a special leaflet for the occasion. They also attended the meetings of the contesting parties, and keenly questioned the candidates. At Labour's meetings our comrades successfully put their points, exposing the weakness and anti-socialist nature of the Labour Party. At the Conservative meetings our members tried hard and well, but were faced with the strange phenomena of a candidate who refused point blank to answer oral questions from anyone. This Tory candidate apparently has aspired for the premiership. His arrogance and rudeness, plus his hollow phrase-mongering only made him look very foolish as well as incompetent.

P. H.

# WHERE ARE YOU GOING?



## SCHOOLS TODAY

WHERE are you going in our society? To the top? Are you going to become one of the TOP TEN per cent. that constitute the capitalist class? How are you going to get there? Perhaps, you think, via the educational system?

Commenting on the figures in Table IV below the *London School of Economics Magazine* (Sept. 1963) stated: "The easiest way to become a top person is to go to a public school (and) on to Oxford and Cambridge. . ."

The figures in Table IV alone suggest this, but perusal of the other tables provide evidence that this observation is incorrect (compare Tables I and V). The percentages of incomes below £1,000 p.a. and pupils at state schools roughly coincide at 90 per cent. The same applies to incomes over £1,000 p.a. and pupils at non-state schools, i.e., 10 per cent. Coincidence do you think? Look at Table II. Could you or your parents afford those fees? Nine out of ten of the population definitely could not. In fact, a large proportion of workers earn less per annum than the fees per annum of the best known public schools, which provide the "leaders" of society. It is obvious that you do not have to go to public school and university to reach the top, but that you must be at the top in order to go to a public school and university. Table III shows how difficult it is for men from state schools to get into Oxford and Cambridge. Not only is the percentage of entrants smaller, but they come from a far greater number (see Table I). Women may find it easier; upper class girls go on to finishing schools instead of university, but note the number of places available.

These figures prove conclusively that it is easier to stay at the top than to get there. Further, if you are at the top you will have every opportunity to get the best education. But what do we mean by the best education? And what opportunities has the working class of receiving it?

The National Association of Schoolmasters in its pamphlet "*Educational Objectives in Further Education*" states that there are two views on education:

In one view, men are divided into groups or classes, each with its own particular skill and qualities. Each group can play a part in increasing the total productivity of industry and thus, it is presumed, raise the sum of distributable wealth. Education would function so as to produce a hierarchy of producers ranging from an elite of managers and administrators at the top, to a large body of semi-skilled workers at the bottom. In the second view it is held that each individual's life has the

same value. This implies that each man has the right to develop his own individuality to the highest point that he is capable of reaching. In this case Education would aim at producing well-adjusted personalities.

It is obvious which the capitalist class provides for itself, and it is equally obvious which the workers receive under capitalism. In fact, the two recent reports on education by Newsom and Robbins aim at making education in the first view more efficient.

*The Times Educational Supplement* (18/10/63) in its article on the Newsom Report states:

... there is much unrealised talent, especially among boys and girls whose potential is masked by inadequate powers of speech and the limitations of the home background. . . The economic argument for investment in these children is that the future pattern of employment in this country will require a much larger pool of talent than is at present available. . . The need is not only for more skilled workers to fill existing jobs, but also for a generally better and intelligently adaptable labour force to meet new demands.

Quite definite is it not? You are to be educated, if you are one of the half of the population which receive secondary modern education, to fill the "larger pool"; though probably some movement towards the second view will develop so that you do not become "rebellious," and to make you more "adaptable."

The same article also reported:

... only a quarter (of the schools) in 1961 had an adequate library room . . . more than a quarter had no library room at all. A third . . . had no proper science laboratories. Half had no special room for teaching music, and these included many schools in which the single hall had to serve for assembly, gymnasium and dining.

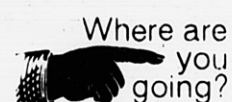
The working class always receive the inferior goods and services under capitalism. Undoubtedly conditions in the grammar and technical schools are better than in the secondary modern. We do not have to think very hard to understand why. These children have more to contribute to capitalist society. The "economic argument for investment" is greater. Yet it is from these schools that state-educated children go to university. We have already seen when referring to Table III how difficult it is for them to obtain a place.

The Robbins Report was the subject of an article in the

## A survey by the Socialist Standard

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*Times Educational Supplement* (25/10/63). As with Newsom, we have not the space to comment more fully, but there are points which are of interest to Socialists and should be to the working class—the 90 per cent. who receive or received a state education. Under the heading “The Present Emergency” the article stated: “In four years’ time it looks as if there will be a shortage of 25,000 university places.” Under “Aims and Principles” we find:

There are four objectives for a higher education system: instruction in skills, promotion of the general powers of the mind, the advancement of learning, and the transmission of a common culture and common standards of citizenship.

On “International Comparisons” the article states:

The committee were impressed by the fact that plans for expansion (in Europe and America) often far surpassed present British plans.

And on the question of “Future Demands”:

It is highly misleading to suppose that one can determine an upper limit to the number of people who would benefit from higher education, given favourable circumstances, while the children of manual workers were generally much less successful than children of the same ability in other social groups, those children of manual workers who did continue their education were as successful as children of the same ability in other social groups.

In education there has always been an emergency for the working class, always a state of great need; education in the second view above has never been provided for them. Why then is there a “present emergency”? For two reasons. First the British capitalist class has not the facilities to train workers to their optimum efficiency—optimum, that is, for making profit. Secondly, the other industrial communities in Europe and America have plans for realizing optimum efficiency from their workers which surpass those in Britain.

The Robbins Committee’s views on the aims of education are not unlike the first National Association of Schoolmasters’ view. And yet within the narrow limits of what capitalist society requires from the individual, rather than the wider second view of what the individual can offer society, “it is highly misleading to suppose that one can determine an upper limit to the number of people who would benefit from higher education, given favourable circumstances.” In other words the pool of ability is unplumbable. We know whose abilities capitalism wastes.

In fact, favourable circumstances will never be available for working class education under capitalism. Who will suffer from the growing shortage of places? Who have always suffered? Or can you imagine leaving Eton to read for an evening degree at Hatfield College of Technology, or leaving Gordonstoun to take a correspondence course through the University of Durham?

On thing Robbins has confirmed and that is that working class children, given the opportunity, are as successful as any other child in education. Unfortunately, they will not all get the opportunity until their parents establish Socialism

K. K.

TABLE V

#### DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME

After taxation	44% earned less than £300 p.a.
	46% earned £500—£1,000 p.a.
	9% earned £1,000—£2,000 p.a.
	1% earned over £2,000 p.a.

N.B.—Above count husband and wife’s earnings as a single income.

(National Income and Expenditure 1961)

TABLE I

#### EDUCATION IN 1962

(Ministry of Education Report for England and Wales)

	Main- tained Schools	Direct Grant Schools	Indepen- dent Schools	Totals
No. of schools	30,246	333	3,958	34,537
Teachers:	284,437	7,180	31,044	322,661
Pupils:	7,044,977	123,310	494,959	7,663,246

TABLE II

#### ANNUAL PUBLIC SCHOOL FEES

Eton	£508	Gordonstoun	£483
Harrow	£462	Winchester	£453
Rugby	£459		
Lowest fees about	£290		
Few below	£300		
Typical	£330—£370		

(Schools 1961, pub. Truman and Knightley)

TABLE III

#### ENTRANTS TO UNIVERSITIES

(These figures do not apply to overseas students)

Type of School (by %)

Maintained Direct Grant Independent

#### MEN:

Oxford & Cambridge			
1955	31	12	57
1961	30	16	54
Other Univ.			
1955	72	10	18
1961	72	13	15

#### WOMEN:

Oxford & Cambridge			
1955	39	21	40
1961	47	22	31
Other Univ.			
1955	66	14	20
1961	76	10	14

Robbins Report on Education 1963

TABLE IV

#### “TOP” PEOPLES, “TOP” SCHOOLS

Percentage entries in *Who’s Who* educated at:

Oxford & Cambridge	...	42
Other univ. and hospitals	...	21
Service colleges	...	9
Other advanced education	...	5
No information, no univ. mentioned	...	23
		100

Headmasters Conference Schools (Public Schools) 50%  
which includes Eton, Harrow, Winchester, Rugby 18%  
(Times Survey on Top People) by Dr. Mark Abrams

## ARE YOU BETTER OFF?

EVERY year the information published by government departments increases in scope and becomes more detailed, especially on economic and social questions—the wages or salaries the workers get, the prices they pay, their hours of work and paid holidays, the size of profits and amounts of taxation, etc. There are, however, still wide gaps in the information and much of it, in the form in which it reaches newspaper readers, is oversimplified or misinterpreted to the point of distortion: this, in addition to the unavoidable margin of error in the figures themselves.

Two of the best-known sources of information are the wage-rate index and the retail price index, which show from month to month the average percentage change of the weekly wage rates of over 13 million manual workers and shop assistants, and the average percentage changes of prices of the articles and services (including rents) bought by the great majority of households in the country. Being averages they do not necessarily fit the particular experience of individuals and groups. In the year 1962, in which there was an average increase of 4.4 per cent. in weekly wage rates, some workers had more than that and others none at all; and in a month when the average of all prices moved hardly at all some workers may have had to pay big increases of rent. There were, too, big differences between wages and rents in different parts of the country.

These two indexes can be used, with some adjustments, to show approximately what has happened to wage-rates and prices over long periods, for example, since 1938. In that twenty-five years, while average prices have trebled, average wage rates have increased just over 3½ times. If a pre-war wage of £3 a week followed the average pattern it would now be £10 12s. 6d., but it would buy only what £3 10s. 6d. would have bought in 1938. In the meantime, owing to more than proportionate increases of deductions from pay (national insurance and income tax), the average increase of the purchasing power of take-home pay is not the 18 per cent. the two indexes would show but something less, probably about 10 per cent.

Wage rates and prices have not always moved together; in the period 1947-1951 prices moved by 5 per cent. more than average wage rates, with wage rates moving ahead again since 1951.

Prices since 1938 have all moved upwards, but separate groups have moved by varying amounts and at different periods. By 1952 food prices were already double the pre-war level and clothing nearly two and a half times, while rents had moved only 12 per cent. Since then food prices have moved to three times the pre-war level and clothing at two and two-thirds times, but rents and other housing costs are catching up. Since 1956 they have gone up by over a half. They are now double the pre-war level and still going ahead, nearly ten per cent. since January, 1962.

If the wage-rate index has moved to 3½ times what it was in 1938, why have average weekly earnings of men in manufacturing and some other industries jumped to 4½ times the 1938 figure (from 69s. to £16 3s. 1d.) and total wages to nearly five times? The explanation is that the wage rate index is based on minimum rates only and takes no account of payments above minimum rates, or of overtime pay (or of short time or unemployment) and the estimates of total wages include the effect of there being millions more workers at work than there were in 1938, mainly because of the decline of unemployment and the fact that far more married women are now at work.

Overtime pay has increased because agreed weekly hours of work have been reduced, but the hours actually worked

have fallen little. Since 1938 there have been two general movements towards shorter hours, the first two years after the end of the war and the second in 1960-61. The first brought pre-war hours of 47 or 48 down to a more or less general 44, and the second to 42 (key points were the reduction of hours in the engineering trades from 47 to 44 in January, 1947, and to 42 in March, 1960). At present most industrial workers have a 42 hour week, with a few industries above 42 and a few below.

Weekly hours of clerical workers are often fewer than those of industrial workers: in the civil service for example clerical workers work 37 hours in London and 39 in the Provinces (expressed as attendances of 42 and 44 hours, including lunch intervals).

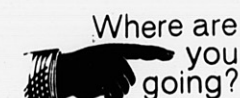
The reduction of hours has not been all gain: apart from increased intensity of work, many workers live farther away from their job and spend more time travelling, but it has had a big effect on earnings through the increase of overtime pay. In manufacturing and some other industries average hours worked in 1938 were 47.7 a week, they are now only about ½ of an hour less at 46.9. So men’s average earnings of £16 3s. 1d. include about 5 hours overtime; without the overtime the figure would be down to about £13 10s. Women, boys and girls in the same group of industries are of course much worse paid and do little overtime, and their average earnings are: women (age 18 and over) £8 3s. 9d.; youths and boys (under 21) £7 4s. 9d., and girls £5 5s. 2d.

These figures cover about 9 million manual workers, but outside that group there are other industries with much lower rates, at least for men. In agriculture the average is £11 9s. 11d. for 50.7 hours a week, which also includes several hours at overtime rate. Workers who do not work overtime and are on basic rates will be getting less, for example men employed outside London as cleaners in government departments, with pay under £9 10s. and shop assistants under £9.

The average earnings of weekly paid clerical workers in manufacturing, etc., industries are fairly close to those of the industrial workers, for men and boys an average of £16 2s. 4d. and for women £8 9s. 3d. For the monthly paid (including top administrative and technical grades) earnings are much higher; for male workers £25 9s. 4d. and for women and girls £11 5s. How much overtime is included is not known. These

#### WAGES, PRICES, UNEMPLOYMENT

Year	Wage Rate Index (Annual Average)	Retail Price Index (Annual Average)	Unemployment January of each year.	Unemployment as % of 1938
1938	100	100	1,927,000	100
1947	170	163	437,000	23
1948	178	175	350,000	18
1949	183	180	413,000	21
1950	186	185	404,000	21
1951	202	203	367,000	20
1952	219	221	423,000	22
1953	229	228	503,000	26
1954	239	232	415,000	21
1955	255	242	336,000	20
1956	275	254	302,000	16
1957	289	264	423,000	22
1958	299	272	440,000	23
1959	307	273	667,000	35
1960	315	276	498,000	25
1961	328	285	458,000	24
1962	341	297	503,000	26
Jan. 1963	348	298	861,000	45
Sept. 1963	354	300	520,000	27



Where are  
you  
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and the other earnings figures are before deduction of income tax, national insurance contributions, etc.

If disregard of the trebling of prices makes the increase of wages look vastly greater than in real terms, so also with the national income and the quantities of articles purchased.

On the crude figures the "gross national product" in 1962 was nearly five times what it was in 1938. In real terms, after allowing for price rises, it has gone up by about 60 per cent. But the increase of total "personal incomes"—the money employers, workers, shopkeepers, etc., have to spend—has increased far less than the "gross national product." The wear and tear of factories, plant, equipment, etc., takes a larger proportion as well as a larger amount of the total product as also does the annual expansion of these: likewise taxation and national insurance contributions. The effect of these and other factors is that consumers' expenditure, adjusted for the rise of prices, has increased since 1938 by only 40 per cent., for a population which has grown by 12 per cent. from 47,494,000 to 53,301,000—such is the slender basis of the so-called affluent society, an increase per head of only 25 per cent. in 24 years.

Interesting changes have taken place in the relative amounts of the different items of income in the same period. Using the figures before deduction of tax and insurance contributions, total wages have risen from 38 per cent. of total personal income to 40 per cent., and salaries from 18 per cent. to 25 per cent. The proportion going to one-man businesses has dropped heavily, from 9.1 per cent. of the total to 5.2 per cent., and that going to rent, interest and dividends, from 22.3 per cent. to 10.9 per cent. of employers' payments of national insurance and other contributors which are up from 2.5 per cent. to 5.3 per cent. and national insurance benefits from 5.4 per cent. to 8.3 per cent.

The salaries and the payments of rent, dividends and interest are of special interest. It is not that the gross profits of companies have failed to keep up with the general increase

(they are in fact nearly six times what they were in 1938), but a larger proportion is taken in taxation and a larger proportion goes into expansion; it is the payments out to shareholders, etc., that have fallen relatively. They are, however, steadily rising again, their proportion of total personal income having nearly doubled since 1951.

One thing that had been happening is that more and more of the rich who before the war were satisfied to live in leisure on their investments now prefer to have jobs, as well as property incomes. In this way they get the advantage of lower taxation, together with the perquisites which go with directors' and other top jobs, the expense accounts, company cars, etc. Unfortunately, beyond the fact that the "salaries" figures include directors' fees, no information is available to show to what extent the relative decline of dividends, etc., and the increase of salaries are two sides of the same coin. In addition the salaries group will have been increased by transfer from the group covering one-man businesses, partnerships, etc., as many of these have been absorbed by big firms.

H.

**DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL PERSONAL INCOMES**  
1938 and 1962 (Before Deduction of Tax and Insurance, etc. Contributions)

	1938 %	1962 %
Wages	37.8	39.9
Salaries	17.9	24.9
Pay of Army, etc.	1.3	1.7
Employers' payments of Insurance Contributions, etc.	2.5	5.3
National Insurance Benefits, etc.	5.4	8.3
Professional workers working on own account	2.3	1.6
Farmers	1.4	2.2
Other one-man businesses and partnerships	9.1	5.2
Rent, dividends and interest	22.3	10.9

## INCREASING CRIME

CRIME is one of the many scars upon the face of the so-called Affluent Age. And it is a scar which year by year grows ever more angry and disfiguring. Amid the increasing number of cars, washing machines, television sets, and so on, the crime graph also keeps on rising.

In 1961, the number of people in England and Wales found guilty of indictable offences was 11.5 per cent. above that for 1960; and in 1962 the number was 11.8 per cent. up on 1961. There were 896,484 indictable offences known to the police during 1962, which is about double the figure for 1953. The largest proportionate increases were in those offences broadly known as "dishonest"—breaking and entering, receiving, fraud, and so on. The Metropolitan Police estimate the value of property which was the subject of petty thefts in their area alone as over £1½ million for 1962.

It is the same sort of story for crimes of violence, although these showed only a slight increase over the past year. Even so, the two years since 1960 saw an increase in indictable crimes of violence of about twenty-five per cent., from 2,536 to 3,160. Eleven more murders were known to have been committed than in 1961, when the total was 132. Sexual offences were a little down last year.

These figures are gloomy enough, but gloomier yet is the fact that the steepest increase in crime is among young people. During 1962, the number of boys between the ages of fourteen and seventeen convicted of indictable offences rose by 8.2 per cent. and that for girls of the same age by 13.9 per cent. Proportionately twice as many male juveniles, and three times as many female juveniles, are found guilty of such charges as before the war. This rise has been pretty con-

sistent over the past ten years, after a decline in juvenile crime from 1952 to 1954.

Naturally, every government regards crime as a serious problem. The inherent exploitation of capitalism has been well described as legal robbery, robbery committed within capitalism's rules. But those who try illegal robbery—the sort which is outside the rules—are an obvious threat to whatever social and economic stability capitalism has. That is why—and not for any reasons of morality—capitalism fights crime.

Apart from this, crime is an expensive business. Courts, police forces, prisons and the rest cost a lot of money. One estimate of the yearly cost of keeping a boy at an approved school in Derbyshire put it higher than that of sending him to Eton—£639 against £554. Lord Stotham, who is President of the Prison

Reform Council, recently complained that £60 million a year is spent upon keeping men in prison "... and only £250,000 a year trying to keep them out."

Why does crime flourish? The government complain that there are not enough policemen to keep it in check. The police force in England and Wales is nearly 6,000 men below its authorised establishment, although this establishment itself is well below the actual requirement, bearing in mind the growth of population and increasing jobs which have been given to the police. By this standard, the Metropolitan Police alone is probably about 6,000 men short. This shortage may have contributed to the growing proportion of unsolved crimes—56 per cent. of the total in 1962.

Some so-called experts have blamed mounting crime onto the after effects of the war, or upon the restlessness of youngsters who, in the days of conscription, knew that they were shortly to waste a couple of years in the Forces. Time itself, with the relentlessly rising crime wave, has destroyed these theories although, of course, they have been replaced by others. It is now fashionable to put the blame onto the frustrations of full employment, telemania and the other features of life in the Sixties. In his recent book *Crime and the Social Structure*, Mr. J. B. Mays, who has had a lot of experience as a Liverpool youth club leader, says:

It is not so much that the social structure, as such, forces people to become delinquents as that it makes it much more likely in cases where individuals fail, for a whole variety of reasons, to make a success of their lives as success is defined by normally accepted values. Crime is to such people an alternative road to achievement.

Now there may, or may not, be some sort merit in these explanations, at any rate as far as the immediate cause of a particular crime may go. But they are at best only temporarily valid; we are looking for something more permanent.

"The law in its majesty," said Anatole France, "permits rich and poor alike to sleep under the railway bridges." Put another way, one could ask how often does one find a millionaire up before the Magistrates accused of stealing. The property basis of society and the property basis of crime really do not brook of much argument. One need but recite a list of the crimes that spring most readily to mind—murder, theft, robbery, fraud, larceny—and, apart from the first one, it is abundantly clear that they are all

merely ringing the changes on one theme, namely, the taking away of the private property of an owner. (Even in the case of murder, a large proportion of such crimes are linked with taking of property in one way or another.)

Capitalism is a comparatively recent phase of human society whereas we know from such things as the "thou shalt not steal" commandment of the bible that crime was a problem in ancient society as well. But always in a property society. In those primitive societies in which property was owned in common and where there were not even words for the concepts of "mine" and "thine" (and it is remarkable how few people realise that the kind of property society which we have today did not exist from time immemorial) what basis for crime within the community could possibly exist?

The fact is that capitalism is stiff with crime and criminals because it is, if you look deeply enough into the matter, a criminal system. It is a system in which the mass of the people are forced to submit to daylight robbery every time they receipt of wages signifies that the recipient has done a surplus amount of work which the employer appropriates for nothing (else why should he employ anyone at all?). And it is to protect

the ownership by the few of the means of production, and of the harvest of surplus value which they yield, that the majesty of the law exists.

But, it might be argued, it is only fair that those who own should reap the benefit of their owning. Whence then does the owning class derive its title to the possession of the earth? Obviously not by any law of nature. As the men of the Peasants' Revolt in the Middle Ages put it: "When Adam delved and Eve span, who was then the gentleman?" They had a clearer idea than workers have today of the dictum of Proudhon, the contemporary of Marx: "All property is theft." Human society did not start with an owning class and a propertyless class. A process of robbery had to take place so that the latter class should be stripped of their share of the earth. And it did not all take place in the mists of ancient history either. As a book recently published points out, in quite recent times the clansmen of vast areas of Scotland were driven—even burned—out of the glens they and their forbears had inherited for centuries by the very chieftains whose kinsmen they believed themselves to be. And this is a story that has been repeated over the centuries all over the world.

The whole capitalist system being based on a crime, it can hardly be surprising that there is such a proliferation of what are legally known as crimes. We live in a society where the ones who are looked up to are those who can live in luxury out of the proceeds of the work of others without themselves being called on to do any useful work at all. In a society whose motto is acquisitiveness and whose slogan is "I'm all right Jack" nothing could be more natural than that a proportion of the wage slaves should try and emulate their betters by finding a means of enjoying the good things of life without working. And in a world where periodically it becomes not only permitted but a duty to steal and burn and kill in the wars of the master class it is clearly not so easy to keep "morals" in the convenient pigeon-holes that would suit our rulers.

Perhaps a suitably cynical conclusion to this article could be provided by mentioning that yet another committee has been recently set up to enquire into the causes of crime with the Home Secretary himself as chairman. But it is safe to assume that they will not reach the one conclusion which will make their deliberations worthwhile. We will eliminate crime only when we eliminate capitalism.

L. WEIDBERG.



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## GLEAMING GODS

FOR some time now the working class in Britain has been enjoying a period free from unemployment such as it has not experienced in peacetime since the early 1870's. Full employment means, as a matter of course, increased consumption. Workers have more money to spend and there is consequently a bigger demand for consumer goods. When the war-time rationing was finally ended by the Conservative Government, capitalism was able to gear itself to meet the new demand. The past few years have seen the emergence of commercial television and the supermarket as well as the expansion of hire purchase as means to take advantage of the fact that workers have more money to spend.

The figures show that consumption has gone up fairly rapidly in the 1950's and especially that of consumer durables, that is of furniture, motor cars, refrigerators, washing machines and other electrical appliances:

Table 1 **AGGREGATE CONSUMPTION**  
(£m. adjusted to 1954 prices)

Year	Total	Food	Drinks/Tobacco	Clothing/Footwear	Durables
1950	11,251	3,620	1,574	1,227	553
1954	12,056	3,782	1,673	1,205	824
1959	13,742	4,180	1,881	1,440	1,205
1960	14,395	4,248	1,990	1,537	1,269

(NOTE.—During the period covered by this Table the population of England and Wales increased from a little below forty-four million to just over forty-five and a half million.)

Table 1 shows that "despite the interruption of the Korean war and the need to limit consumption in order to restrain inflation, consumption as a whole was just over one-fifth higher in 1960 than in 1950" (*The British Economy in the Nineteen Fifties*, ed. Worswick & Ady, from which also the table is condensed). As can be seen from the figures the pattern of consumption varied: "The volume of durable household goods sold in 1959 was more than double that sold ten years earlier. In comparison, purchases of food rose by only 25 per cent.; of drink and tobacco by 14 per cent.; of clothing and footwear by 24 per cent. during this ten-year period."

These are the figures showing the total amount consumed. Such figures, however, do not tell the whole story. Notoriously, figures and graphs can be deceptive. Politicians and journalists frequently speak as if most people had a TV and a refrigerator and a washing machine and a car. They talk of the "affluent society." The *Economist* of October 27, 1960, for instance, referred to "the revolution in household equipment that has transformed the life of the working class housewife." It spoke as if everywhere the vacuum cleaner had replaced the "brush and pan," the "washing machine," the "boiling pot and mangle," the "TV," the "disintegrating crystal wireless" and the "motor car," "the battered old bicycle." Certainly this has happened in some working class households but in how many? Some of the better-off may have all the items mentioned, but they are in a minority. Dr. Mark Abrams, the statistician, in an article in *The Observer* in the very same week, provided some figures on this question.

In 1960 a large nation-wide sample survey on this question of the ownership of consumer durables was conducted. The results showed that compared with 1957, when a similar survey was carried out, the ownership of refrigerators had gone up by 75 per cent. of washing machines by 54 per cent, of TV's by 41 per cent. and of cars by 29 per cent. But, says Dr. Abrams, the figures also show "that still, after an unprecedented boom, only one item—the television set—is to be

found in a majority of British homes. The rest are the possessions of minorities." Dr. Abrams divides the population into two groups; a "middle class" which he defines as "the one-third of all British families whose chief earner is in a white collar post and earning at least £800 a year" and a "working class." The ownership figures for these two groups are given:

Table II  
**PERCENTAGE OWNERSHIP OF CONSUMER DURABLES**  
(1960)

Item	Middle Class	Working Class	Total
Television	83	78	79
Lawnmower	67	34	45
Washing Machine	50	37	40
Motor Car	52	22	31
Refrigerator	39	13	21
House	60	29	39

Commenting, Dr. Abrams says that even among his so-called middle class "there are many who in terms of material possessions, lack the traits of the popular idea of a middle class home. Approximately two-thirds own their own home and a lawnmower; barely half have a car or washing machine; and only two out of five middle class homes today have a refrigerator."

We are now in a better position to answer our question: in how many working class households has this equipment revolution occurred? Note first, however, that Dr. Abram's "middle class" are actually members of the working class even if they do earn £800 a year or more. We see that of all households 79 per cent. do not own a refrigerator; 69 per cent. do not own a car and 60 per cent. do not own a washing machine. It is only with regard to televisions that ownership is widespread. Furthermore, we can see that the percentage of those who own a refrigerator, washing machine, car, TV and house cannot be any higher than 21 per cent.—and will, of course, be much less than this.

The figures show, then, that for a minority of the working class the consumption of consumer durables has increased. Beyond that what can we say? There is a widely held view that an increase in consumption is equivalent to an increase in the standard of living. This is not necessarily so. When, a few years ago, Mr. Butler predicted the doubling of the standard of living in twenty-five years, what he meant was that aggregate consumption could be doubled in that period. Which is an altogether different proposition. It is a physiological fact that the harder a man works the more he must consume. This is because when a man works he uses up his energy which has to be replaced. It is this energy which the employer pays for in the wage packet. If the employer wants his workers to produce more—and therefore to expend more energy—he must be prepared to pay for it. Today many of the larger employers are quite prepared to do this and have been doing so for some time. They pay higher wages to attract a higher grade of worker. The worker in these industries is required to work harder and faster than those outside and is therefore paid more, so that he can consume more to replace his used up energy.

What does it all add up to? No one is denying that today some workers can do things their parents couldn't. Who, twenty or thirty years ago, for instance, would have dreamt of a production worker visiting the Continent in his own car? But what about the other side: the faster machine pace, the longer journey to work, the overtime, the shift-working? Some may consider it worth it, but the fact remains that the

Where are  
you  
going?

member of this new "labour aristocracy" together with the white collar man with his "staff" job still gets, like the rest of the working class, a wage about sufficient to sustain him, together with his family, so that he can perform adequately and efficiently the work required of him. Only he is paid more for working more. Is he better off for that? Or, perhaps, are you better off for that?

Nor does increased consumption mean the end of exploitation. Whatever their standard of living, the working class remains dependent on selling its ability to work to the owning

class in order to live. But even so, as Dr. Abrams' figures show, the so-called household equipment revolution has by-passed most workers, if the *Economist* was right in saying that "there is now some reason to believe that the main force of the secular boom in household equipment may be coming towards its end." Their wages were too low for them to join in the spending spree. For them it's still brush and pan, boiling pot and mangle and battered old bicycle. Their only consolation a TV set!

A. L. B.

## HEALTH IN THE SIXTIES

RUSH and tear, clatter and noise, worry and strain, all a gigantic assault on the senses and all so much a part of our lives today, are presenting medicine with some very tricky problems. It would be silly to deny that some of the old illnesses are not the menace they once were—there are 320,000 people alive now who would have died of pneumonia, had the death rates of the Thirties persisted—but it is also true that there are other diseases just as serious, which have shown an alarming increase in death rates in recent times. And they are directly attributable to modern conditions of stress and strain.

According to the British Heart Foundation, deaths from coronary heart disease among men and women between 25 and 44 have almost doubled in the past ten years. More than 261,000 victims were claimed by it in 1961—almost enough to wipe out the gains made against pneumonia. Now, heading the list of strong suspects causing this scourge are worry and strain, two persistent products of our living conditions under capitalism. We are all affected, but the higher paid worker with his heavier responsibilities and commitments, may be specially prone. In this sense the ambitious and promising young man of today is our heart case of tomorrow, maybe. Lord Woolton put his finger on it when, referring specifically to coronary thrombosis, he said:

It is the common experience of all of us who have been in charge of large businesses, who have spent years training and educating young men for higher positions, to find that they only meet death at the door of success. (*Guardian*, 12/2/63.)

Heart trouble is acknowledged to be the greatest killer disease in Britain at present, but is certainly not the only hazard to health in our hectic existence in the sixties. Mental illnesses have been steadily increasing as more workers find themselves breaking down under the

strain of living. Today, almost half the available hospital beds in England and Wales are occupied by mental cases. The following table will give an idea of the upward trend of recent years:

Direct Admissions to Mental Hospitals in England and Wales, 1951-1959	
1951	59,288
1952	62,258
1953	67,422
1954	71,699
1955	78,586
1956	83,994
1957	88,943
1958	94,083
1959	105,742

(No figures later than 1959 available at time of writing.)

Perhaps these figures may show a decline as methods of treatment are developed, but that would not necessarily mean there were less cases to treat. Already an increased emphasis is being placed on outpatient treatment although, as Kathleen Jones and Roy Sidebotham scathingly point out, this is because of Government parsimony rather than medical necessity. (*Mental Hospitals at Work*, p. 18)—another example, incidentally, of how human needs take second place in the capitalist order of priority.

Not a very happy picture to paint at the beginning of the year, you say? Agreed, but it will not be any less so if we try to turn our backs on it. So let us face the grim reality of our capitalist world and admit that there are some illnesses which are peculiar to it and which would be rare in any sane social setup. It is not just the daily struggle to get by that exacts its toll of mental and physical breakdowns. There are countless irritations and frustrations which capitalism heaps on us and, having done so, obstructs the road to their removal.

An outstanding example is the tremendous growth of noise in the past few

years. What with the harrowing din of the average factory, the roar of motor traffic and jet aircraft, it is hardly surprising that nerves often snap and angry householders wake the Civil Aviation Minister at 6 o'clock in the morning, to protest. Noise was in fact given as one of six reasons for mental disorders by Dr. Doris M. Odum when addressing a research workers conference in London last September. Her argument was given weight by a report on the problem by a government committee just two months before. "There is no doubt that noise affects health. Of its ill-effects the repeated interference with sleep is least to be tolerated, especially earlier in the night."

Well, having admitted the existence of the trouble it would be reasonable to expect early attempts to tackle it, but not so. There is a little matter of cost to be considered. "The price of sweeping measures to cut down noise quickly would not, the committee believes, be acceptable to the community."

For "community" read "capitalist class" and the picture is complete. Probably they will make some effort to combat it when the expense of allowing it to continue is greater than that of tackling it. One estimate has already placed the yearly costs in fatigue, lowered efficiency, ill-health and accidents at £1,000 millions. How true this is we cannot say, but it is a fine example of the £ shaped spectacles through which our bosses see our health problems.

So despite the claims which are made from time to time, the situation is not so rosy after all. It is undeniable that medical knowledge has made great strides, but equally true that setbacks have occurred in other directions which can be traced in origin to modern conditions. Some of the older diseases remain stubbornly with us, too, such as cancer (100,000 deaths in England and Wales in 1962—an all





time high). There is also chronic bronchitis with its loss of some 29 million working days per year, by which workers are the more severely affected. Ministry of Health chief medical officer Sir George Godber has admitted as much in his report *On the State of the Public Health* (H.M.S.O., Sept., 1963). "... (Bronchitis) is to a considerable extent related to economic conditions. The less skilled,

the less well paid, and those living under less pleasant conditions are more prone to suffer from it."

Is there much more that need be added? Probably during this year and in future years, we shall be told how much better off we are than thirty years ago. In some ways this may be true, but capitalism never gives us anything in one hand without taking something away with

the other. And through it all medical science struggles on, operating on a shoe-string, plagued and hampered by lack of funds, while millions are spent on war weapons and other harmful necessities of capitalism. This is what gives substance to our claim that capitalism has outlived its usefulness. It is glaringly obvious in the field of medicine.

E. T. C.

## TIME OFF FROM WORK

Is there any place to which the children of the humbler classes may resort for any game or exercise, any of those games they have been used to on holidays?

None whatever.

(From the testimony of William Fielden, M.P. for Blackburn, to the Committee on Public Works, 1833.)

It is indeed a long time ago, in more senses than one, that recreation was considered a risky luxury for what were generally known as the humbler classes. Many of the masters who waxed fat during the Industrial Revolution were only too anxious that their employees should suffer no distraction from the serious business of turning out more and ever more profit for them. Recreation? What more could a workman want than sixteen or eighteen hours in the mill or the mine, followed by stupified sleep in a crumbling hovel or a rat infested cellar? Were not these people meant to work? And did not the clergy agree with this?

If this was a narrow, shortsighted view, it was the best that could be expected in the exigencies of an emergent capitalist economic and social system. The Frenchman Bruet, among others, saw the inevitable consequence:

The observance of the Sunday in England is rigorously enforced by church and state. There is only one exception: the dram shops. All shops must be closed, all places of innocent amusement or instruction, such as Botanical Gardens or Museums, must be rigorously shut, but the folding doors of the gin palace may be open to any man who pushes his foot against them.

These things are managed much more skillfully today. For the most part modern industry recognises that its workers' recreation is as important as their work, because one cannot exist without the other and better recreation usually means better work. Typically, one internationally famous company plasters its lavatory walls with posters showing off duty employees robustly

playing hockey, or swimming, or working in a sort of garden which, in fact, few of them can afford. The posters adjure all who pass by to "Enjoy Your Leisure In The Open Air." This advice is not universally acceptable, as anyone who has spent a Saturday evening at the local Palais, searching for a pocket of fresh air, will agree.

What, then, are the facts—at any rate some of them—on working class leisure today? The first fact is that, whatever form it takes, modern recreative activity is usually something out of which a number of companies are making a considerable profit. Leisure is now important not only as a way of replacing working energy; it is also, more than ever, a lucrative market for the companies who are in on it and who are working it for all they are worth.

Perhaps an exception to this is sport, which is something of an odd man out in capitalism's economy, operating with its own rules and often with an employment system which would not work in industry at large. On an average Saturday afternoon last winter, something like six hundred thousand people were watching some sort of League football game, paying anything up from three shillings a head to do so. (Some of these seem to pay their entrance money for reasons other than to watch the play. What the club programme often delicately terms the "popular" side of the ground is the place where a spectator can broaden his vocabulary from the abuse which is thrown at the players along with the orange peel and the apple cores. It is also the place where a fist fight can develop after a difference of opinion over whether that last trip up actually happened in the penalty area. All of this, presumably, comes under the heading of leisure time activity.)

It is in one of the off-shoots of sport that some really big money is spent and some big profits are made. Gambling is an almost obsessional time-off interest of

a great many members of the working class. A government survey which came out at the end of 1962 estimated the total turnover on all types of gambling during 1961 at £762 million—nearly £14 for every person in the country. Year by year, the Churches' Council on Gambling reports, scandalised, on how the money is split between the various types of gambling. The Council's latest report states that £540 million was laid out on horses alone during 1962—over £100 million more than the year before. At the same time the football pools took a drop of £16 million in their turnover, caused mainly by the increasing popularity of fixed odds betting on the results of football games and—no prizes for guessing this one—by the rise of Bingo. The government reckoned that over £25 million was spent on Bingo during 1961 and expected that this amount would increase in the future.

To the clergy, this is a scandalously immoral situation, which is the sort of pious reaction we can expect from them. Nevertheless, it is depressing that so much money should go on gambling, if only for the light it sheds upon the attitude of mind of so many workers. The best that can be said for the Pools is that they offer a chance, no matter how cosmically remote, of climbing out of economic servitude—and that for a stake of a few shillings a week. Most other forms of gambling do not even have this to be said for them. Yet this does not decrease their hypnotic power. Just watch the faces, contorted with anxiety, at a seaside Bingo session where the best prize may be something like a plastic bird bath. Or try to appreciate the thrill which the office gambler gets out of winning a few bob on the erby. Or study the vacuous expression on the face of the hour-long operator of the one-armed bandit. It is all rather depressing. Because these are members of a class who carry a desperate burden on their backs; they are the people who suffer the problem of capi-

talist society. But they realise nothing of this amid the clatter of the fruit machine and the fatuous cracks of the Bingo caller.

And if we widen our field, we can find no relief from our depression. The average evening on the telly is one of unrelieved drudgery; only occasionally does the screen erupt with something vital, real—or even something merely entertaining. Popular songs, year after year, plumb undreamt depths of banality. No more do they reflect any other aspect of life than sex—and an unreal, distorted, idealised sex at that. Elvis Presley gibbers incessantly about "lerv" and Cliff Richard pines and sighs on the same theme—and this is what finds popular favour, this is what sells the records. It is a purgative experience to listen to the average session of Two Way Family Favourites. Here is the soldier who professes from abroad his undying devotion to his girl friend by asking the studio to play the latest pop favourite—a song which, perhaps like his affection, will be dead and forgotten all too soon.

The point is that, for the soldier and his girl, marriage on a tight budget, perhaps living with mother-in-law, can be nothing more than a cruel struggle. None of this reality—none, for example, of the high divorce rate for those who marry in their teens—is hinted at in the pop song. Yet, to judge by the sales figures, it is records of precisely these songs which are in the greatest demand today. Nearly seventeen and a half million pounds were spent on records last year, covering a production of seventy-seven and a half million units. Although the production and sales figures have been climbing steadily over the past few years, they are something of a come down from the fabulous days when rock and skiffle first hit the scene. In 1956 seventy-eight million discs were sold, bringing in forty-four million pounds. At any one time, the great majority of records are the small "forty-fives," on which the ephemeral pop hits are largely cut.

These records take about three minutes to play. Is it too harsh to say that, for this short time, the pop fan can forget his job, the Bomb, the mountainous problems of his personal life, in the hypnotism of the Mersey Sound? In its way, it is bitterly amusing that this deception keeps the tills of Tin Pan Alley merrily tinkling. But for anyone who cares about the future of human society it is profoundly disturbing.

If the working class turn their backs on the pops, the telly and the Palais and take to the open air in their time off, they

often do so in what is politely called a motor car. There are about six and a half million of these on Britain's roads at the moment and on any decent Sunday in the summer you can see a few miles of them stuck in traffic jams. Sitting in jams promises to become a more common way of recreation—by 1980, eighteen million private cars are expected to be running. There seems to be no end to this problem, so insidiously has the motor car imposed itself upon a transport system which was not designed to take such a strain and which is restricted by the usual capitalist priorities. The fast roads, flyovers, and so on, which are now being built serve only to speed the traffic from one blockage to another. It is forecast that in a few years' time the jam caused by traffic coming into London in the morning will not be cleared in time for the start of the jam caused by the traffic leaving in the evening.

These are hardly ideal conditions for

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, January, 1914.

### THE LANDLORD'S PARADISE.

The sale of the Covent Garden estate by the Duke of Bedford for several million pounds to the well-known financial magnate and Tory M.P., Mr. Mallaby Deeley, disposes of all the Liberals' claims as to bringing the land back to the people. So harmless are Lloyd George's taxes, and so empty his vote-catching vapourings, that this astute financial prince laughs at the very idea of the danger to property, and calmly ventures millions upon its stability—a safe enough guide for anybody.

But besides showing the utter fraud of the Liberal Land Campaign in a peculiarly convincing manner, the stupendous transaction is interesting for that it records the passing of the aristocratic property-owner as such, and the rising of the commercial king.

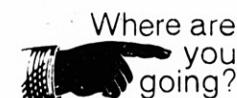
### POSTSCRIPT FROM TODAY

Hallmark securities, the £10 million property and housing group, surprise property investors by expecting residential developers to be better off under a Labour Government.

Chairman Mr. Sidney Bloch says: "The Socialists want another 136,000 houses a year, half of which will go to private enterprise. We shall also welcome a Government which buys land for lease back to developers. This will release more of our capital..."

He forecasts a dividend rise next year from 36½ p.c. to 40 p.c.

From the Daily Mail (4/10/63).



enjoying the ownership of a car, which not so long ago was a favourite working class dream. There was never, in any case, much substance to this dream. The car which an average wage earner can afford is, like everything else which he buys, necessarily a shoddy, unfinished job, not to be compared with the craftsman's perfection which his employer can command. For the same reason—lack of cash—many workers are compelled to do their own maintenance on their car. Walk down any garageless street on a Sunday morning and count the oily legs sticking out from under unstable looking vehicles in all stages of depreciation. Listen to the muffled curses. Working class living is dominated and restricted by the size of the wage packet and this applies to the cars they worship so fervently as well as to their houses, clothes and the rest.

It is easy enough to poke fun at, and perhaps to be bitter about, the ways in which the modern equivalent of Fielden's humbler classes use up their leisure time. But there is more to it than that. After making every allowance, the fact is that generally the worker does not make the most of his free time. In many ways, the best in recreation is available to him; there is little reason why he should not enjoy some of the finest scenery in the country, nor see the best plays, nor hear the most satisfying music. Yet rambling clubs have died thickly since the war, the short sloppy serial is the kind of play to push up the viewing figures, it is the pop crooning about "luv" which sells the records.

And the reason? Capitalism requires us to be able to do our job and for the most part it educates us to that standard. After that, our cultural welfare is our own concern. In a world whose heroes are manly soldiers and the get-rich-quick tycoon, where every other ad. tells us that it is smart to be a smooth salesman, or a racing car driver, or a hell of a lad with the girls, what place, what time, what sympathy, is there for him who wants to stand and stare? What factory worker dare tell his mates on the assembly line that he is fond of poetry? Safer to discuss last night's episode of *Z Cars*.

Thus does capitalism make idiots of us all. Property society is a futile, vicious, ugly way of running the world and this is reflected in many ways. Until society changes so that, almost paradoxically, work and leisure are indistinguishable, the ugliness will go on. And as it continues, who dare say what horrors are in store for us in the traffic jams, and in the Top Twenties, of the future?

IVAN.



## COPING WITH THE CAR

ONE of these days, we have been told by Mr. Marples, we're going to wake up wondering what's hit us. In rather more elegant language, and at much greater length, the Buchanan report has warned us of the same thing. What is going to hit us, both literally and metaphorically, is the motor car.

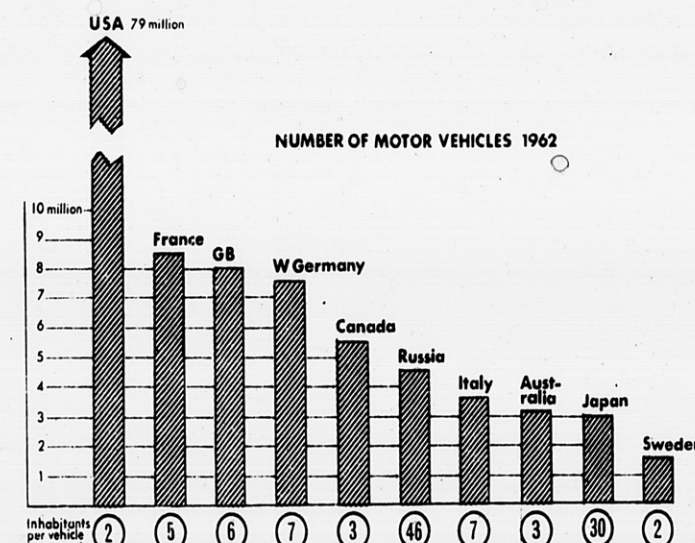
Only recently the inhabitants of Kingston on Thames were given a foretaste of what Mr. Marples meant when one Saturday afternoon the whole of the town came to a complete standstill. For a couple of hours no vehicle could get into the town and nothing could get out. The panicky thought even occurred to some of those marooned, apparently, that they never were going to get out.

Is this really what is in store for us? Is the motor vehicle really going to end by overwhelming our cities, wiping out community life, completely dominating our existence? Or will capitalism, which has generated the monster, be finally forced to come to terms with it? And is it really capable of doing this? Are we to be impressed by Buchanan, or is he going to go the way of all the other utopians up against the harsh realities of private interests and individual ownership? Let us consider a few facts first.

At the beginning of 1963, there were about eight million four-wheeled motor vehicles on this country's roads; by the end of it, they will have been joined by another million. Estimates are for 13 million in 1970, and for 20 million by 1980, an average of one for every three people or one for every 20 yards of road (actually less since the population is concentrated into certain areas and not evenly spread). All this is prophecy, of course, and one hefty slump in a year or two's time could knock all these figures for six. But the essential problem has already posed itself and will only get worse unless it is dealt with one way or another.

This headlong development is not peculiar to this country. France already has nine million vehicles and will have increased on this number by a further half million by the end of the year; with a much larger area the problem is not so far quite so acute, but Paris has even worse traffic jams than London, and the other big towns will soon be as bad. Germany will probably have 8½ million vehicles soon and Italy 4 million; many of the smaller European countries have traffic densities at least the equal of, and sometimes greater than, their bigger neighbours.

Far in excess of all of them, of course, is the United States, with the fantastic total of 80 million vehicles. The effects of this are, however, localised and in many areas one measures the number of square miles to the car and not the other way round. But the problem is no easier in the built-up areas



where most of the population is concentrated, in fact, it is often much worse. Los Angeles, and similar towns, stand as terrible warnings of what the unrestrained advance of the motor car can do to man and his way of life.

At the same time, the car manufacturers of the world are busily expanding output, installing new plant, going in for more and more automation, opening up new factories, spurred on by state financial aid and other encouragement, Ford go to Liverpool, Rootes to Linwood, Citroen to Rennes, Renault to Caen and Le Havre, Volkswagen to Emden; so linked has the motor industry become to the general health of modern capitalism that governments hardly dare interfere to control its booms and fall over themselves to stimulate it out of its slumps.

Whole industries have become its subsidiaries. Sheet steel and rubber are its hangers-on, petroleum pays it homage. It feeds upon vast quantities of glass, paint, plastics, chrome, and electrical equipment; it requires huge investment in heavy plant and machine tools. When the internal combustion engine misfires, the whole of capitalism begins to cough; when it is turning over well, the economy feels buoyant.

So far the motor vehicle has carried all before it. But the problem now threatening capitalism and its governments is how to reconcile this ever-increasing production with the need to keep the products on the move. Even its die-hard supporters can see the absurdity of turning loose hundreds of thousands of additional cars on to roads where the traffic already can hardly turn. Yet capitalism is on the horns of a real dilemma—how to impose restrictions on the car (which to be effective will need to be drastic) without disastrous repercussions on the industry itself.

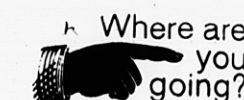
### Capitalism's Sacred Cow

In spite of all the evils and inconveniences it has brought in the way of noise, noxious fumes, dirt, nervous frustration, congestion, economic waste, death and injury from accidents, the car has so far had things pretty much its own way. It has become capitalism's sacred cow, which nobody has been allowed to hinder or harm. Over the years it has steadily been allowed to reduce the public transport services to a joke and a travesty, and nobody has dared raise a hand to stop it.

The United States has always believed itself to be a step ahead of the motor vehicle (in contrast to this country which has always been a step behind it), but the net result, in the towns, at any rate, has not been very different. Driving magnificent motorways into the towns seemed a wonderful idea at the time, but all they did was to attract even more traffic and congest the centres still further. In the interests of the car, the Americans have assassinated their towns as decent, pleasant places to live in. Los Angeles has spread itself into a vast, inhuman sprawl over thousands of square miles; only now, after spending thousands of millions of dollars on super highways is it belatedly trying to put right its mistake with a new public transport system.

In this country and most of Western Europe the crunch has still to come, but it is not very far away. After the meters come the devices for charging for using road space—all very ingenious but a wonderful example of the fundamental idiocy of capitalism. The Buchanan report puts forward all sorts of inspiring ideas but one of the first very mundane things Mr. Marples is going to use it for is to provide independent weighty backing to his plans for restriction.

We referred to the idiocy of capitalism and it is true. Hundreds of thousands of cars, each taking up about 70 square



feet of road space to carry seldom more than one passenger, crawl into our cities between certain fixed times in the morning, and crawl out again at another fixed period in the evening. It is only matched in idiocy by the way in which the urban public transport systems are geared to millions of commuters doing the same thing by bus, train, and tube. Many of these same commuters have themselves left a car in the garage taking up useful space at home or littering the streets, a car which they probably never take out on a journey worthy of the name more than once a week, plus the fine week-ends in the summer when they sally forth en masse to join the traffic jams, and the annual holiday when they often meet the same thing. The situation certainly has its ironies, as well. It is hardly more than ten to fifteen years ago that no Socialist meeting could go its allotted span without some questioner asking "And what are you going to do if everybody wants a motor-car under Socialism?" the implication being that there would never be enough to go round and matters would end in a mad free-for-all. How far away those days seem now! Today we are hardly asked the question—nobody questions that production will be a problem.

Capitalism itself has in fact already solved the problem of the production of the motor-car. Its real problem today is how to cope with what it has produced; how to reconcile social production with individual ownership. Its politicians, its experts, its planners, all accept without question that whatever else may happen the cars must still come rolling off the assembly lines in their millions. The Buchanan report puts forward the most grandiose schemes, all to deal with 13 million cars by 1970 and even 20 million by 1980; a BBC discussion on the report mentioned a figure of £9,000 million for town rebuilding alone and everybody seemed to think that that was quite normal to allow half a nation of car-drivers to go from one side of a town to the other or to stop half way through to do the shopping. And as for the really revolutionary suggestion—the one that would operate under Socialism—that perhaps we already had enough cars and that all that was necessary was for them to be utilised sensibly as a supplementary to a comfortable, convenient and generally well-run public transport service, this side of the equation was obviously not thought of, let alone considered.

The fact is that the cars will continue to roll from the assembly lines but that capitalism's governments will do only so much to accommodate them as the necessities of private property will allow. Most of the Buchanan proposals, for example, will probably be quietly shelved; the government has already turned a cold eye on the suggestion that land for road schemes should be compulsorily acquired at a "reasonable

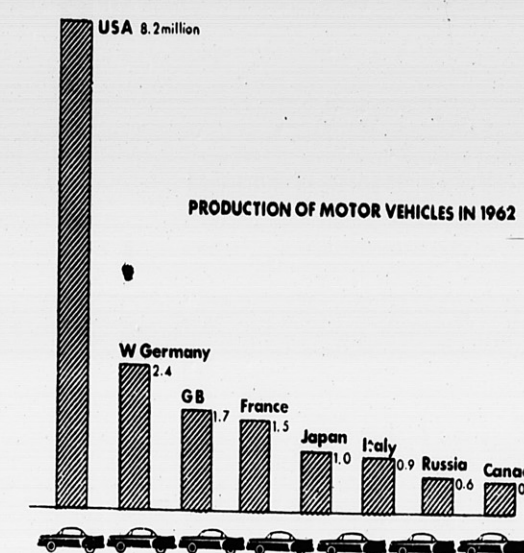
price," and hardly anybody believes that much of the drastic re-planning mentioned in the report will ever be realised.

What we shall probably get, as is usually the case, is a hotch-potch of a compromise that will ease the system where it is being pinched hardest with the rest left to look after itself as best it can. There will be restrictions in one form or another to keep the city centres reasonably free for commercial traffic and give essential services, such as getting the workers to work, more scope to operate. No doubt, also as usual, the wealthy will find ways round the permits and licences, and the charges will be chalked up with all their other odd financial items on the side against business expenses. Priority will also certainly be given to such things as motorways to carry capitalism's merchandise more quickly and thus more cheaply. But anything to do primarily with making our cities convenient and safe places to move about in, beautiful places to look at, and enjoyable places generally in which to live, will be well down the list of priorities. In other words, little is going to be done to rid us of the noise, the noxious fumes, the congestion, the waste of resources, the deaths and injuries, we mentioned earlier; indeed, they will probably become worse.

In short, we see little prospect of capitalism coping with the car, save perhaps in the sense that it will have to intervene to some extent to save itself from being strangled economically. And, to judge by the way it has been setting about the job so far, it looks as though it will not do even this too successfully either.

Where are you going? We may well ask. But wherever it is, or wherever you think it is, you're not going to find the car much of an asset.

S. H.



## THE MEANING OF WORK

The Meaning of Work, by Lisl Klein.  
Fabian Society, 2s.

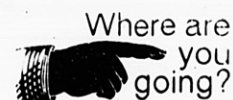
IN her introduction the author says that, obviously, the first thing that matters about work is to have it. She adds that any discussion about being satisfied with one's work has to presuppose that there are no fears of large-scale unemployment and it becomes nonsense if there are such fears; the second thing is that it must be

adequately paid for. She goes on to say: "Nevertheless, I want to discuss the question of work as if basic security and basic living standards can be taken for granted." She ignores, for the purposes of the argument, the problems of those who lose their jobs through automation.

In other words the author has, as one would expect, considered "the meaning of work" entirely within the context of capitalism. Nevertheless, she has some

useful and interesting points to make and considers various aspects of the subject which are often ignored or over-simplified. In considering some problems, she suggests solutions in several cases which would be viable, or even "pay off" under capitalism in the 1960's/1970's. One instance is on the question of piecework, where she quotes a reason for its popularity with some workers which is not usually mentioned, where she says:





Where are  
you  
going?

Variation in speed can make piecework attractive. On many piecework jobs it is possible to bash away hard for a couple of hours and then take ten minutes off to have a cigarette or a chat without incurring the wrath of the foreman, because in quite a big way one is one's own boss. This may even be possible on a conveyor belt. There have been experiments in letting groups of people decide the speed of their own belt, and they have usually varied it at different times of the day.

A worker often develops his own way of doing a particular job. This may not always be the most efficient way of doing things for the whole organisation, but people cling to them because this is what makes it "their" job. She says "One of the dangers of work study is that it may determine methods too precisely and take away the opportunity to develop small tricks."

She stresses the importance of workers being aware of the value of their work and knowing the part it plays in the organisation—or community—as a whole. She quotes the case of some women in a factory in Blackfriars who, during the war, were employed painting large quantities of metal D's stamped out in metal. These were put on trays, sprayed with paint and dried, and two women had the job of turning them over so that they could be painted on the other side. Doing this job hour after hour, day after day, they had almost reached screaming point when the foreman explained that they were preparing drinking water identification for troops fighting in Normandy. This quite changed their outlook as they now felt they were doing something of "national importance" and they almost began to enjoy it.

On the subject of automation, she points out that a false picture is sometimes given by lumping all automatic processes together. While it is true that many are just "push button" stop and start jobs, others require control of complicated machinery. The job which was a craft one where a man did everything himself now may be done by a complicated piece of apparatus which he has to control; in many ways his role again resembles that of a craftsman. It often leads to breaking down of barriers and closer co-operation between different grades of workers to ensure efficient functioning of machinery. The operator has direct access to senior people, maintenance people, etc., and he feels a joint responsibility. The change to automation may lead to a freer exchange of views and, as a result, groups or "teams" develop spontaneously and the so-called unskilled operator is regarded as a re-

sponsible person.

There is an interesting section of Ergonomics, or "human engineering," the latter description, as the author says, being rather unpopular here, although used extensively in the U.S. This is the study of "fitting the job to the worker." As seems to happen in so many fields, this line of research first arose out of military needs. During the war technical advances produced machines, such as high-speed aircraft and radar devices, which presented their operators with tasks that could be so complex or exacting, or require such rapid action, that they were pretty well impossible to perform. It therefore became necessary to understand the human limitations of the operators and to take them into account. It was almost by accident, by some of the people engaged on this work in the Defence Department trickling out into civilian life, that industrial applications of the knowledge began to be worked on.

Often it is a case of making work more satisfactory (this does not necessarily mean—easier). By making it more satisfactory, it becomes more efficient. Sometimes this can be achieved simply by work rotation. I.B.M. carried out an experiment in one of their machine shops, where there were machine setters, operators whose job was to put pieces in the machine, start the machine, stop the machine and take the pieces out; inspectors who inspected the work and specialist departments for sharpening and maintaining the tools. In a fairly lengthy re-training programme, the operators were trained to set their own machines, sharpen their own tools and inspect their own work. The author sums up "This is not as simple as it sounds. . . . It could only be done on a rising market because it left the firm with a lot of specialists to find work for. But this does open up big and interesting possibilities and far more experimenting of this kind could be done."

A little later she says, "Technically there is probably very little which could not be done in the way of reorganising work so as to abolish those aspects of work which it might be demonstrated are harmful to the people doing them. . . . The question is whether anyone is prepared to afford it" (our emphasis).

Here seems a useful field of study in answer to those of our questioners who ask how, in a Socialist society, the dull and unsatisfying jobs will be coped with.

Finally, the pamphlet has, as one might expect, a section on "efficiency." What is rather more surprising is that the final section is headed "Deliberate Inefficiency." She states that all ergonomic

and similar studies are undertaken with a view to improving the efficiency, rather than the well-being of the worker. His health and well-being are only considered as a means of obtaining greater efficiency. In her last paragraphs she makes a rather startling suggestion; startling, that is, under capitalism, when she writes: "One day some enterprising employer is going to do away with his sports ground, his welfare facilities, his flower-beds and his fringe benefits and use the money in deliberately ignoring some of the accepted precepts of efficiency—perhaps running his assembly line at a lower speed or allowing the girls in the typing pool to chat. The result might be surprising."

We are often taken to task for not being willing to "give a blueprint" of life in a Socialist society and refusing to sketch in all the details. However, here is one thing of which we can assure our readers. In a Socialist society, work will be done at a speed most compatible with the well-being of the worker, and the "girls" will "chat" quite naturally. We would go even further—in a Socialist society we shall not need to do away with sports grounds or flowerbeds to achieve or "afford" this happy state of affairs!

E. G.

## MEETINGS

### WELWYN GARDEN CITY

The Community Centre (Room 3)  
Mill Green Road, Welwyn  
Thursday 2nd January 8pm  
**CONSERVATIVE PARTY**

### BETHNAL GREEN

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath, E2  
Wednesday 8th January, 8pm  
From Kier Hardie to  
Harold Wilson, Speaker: A. Pahy

### ISLINGTON

Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road,  
N7 (near Finsbury Park Tube)  
Thursday January 30th, 8 pm  
**BRAINS TRUST**  
C. May, J. D'Arcy.

### INTER BRANCH MEETING

Bloomsbury, Ealing, Paddington  
Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
Wednesday January 22nd 8.30 pm  
**RUSSIAN AND CHINESE CAPITALISM**  
Speaker: E. Hardy

# The Passing Show

## Death of a President

Who would have dreamt, on the morning of that fateful November day, that within a matter of hours, the thirty-fifth U.S. President, John F. Kennedy, would be dead, as well as his assassin and a Texas policeman? Yet this was the news which burst upon an astounded world, and sent all the capitalist politicians into huddles.

Kennedy's death was a tragedy for his family and friends, but at times like these it is as well to get the whole business into some sort of perspective and try to dispel some of the concentrated nonsense to which we have been subjected since the event. It was *The Observer* for December 1st which said that the shot which killed Kennedy "... must change the course of the world." But this is really just another repetition of the "great men make history" theory, and has precious little evidence to support it.

The more sensible remark was that overheard between two young men in a London street the following morning. "Assassinations don't really make a lot of difference," said one. "Things go on pretty much the same as before." Probably he was not a Socialist, but he certainly hit the nail on the head, for this is precisely what the newspapers were

hastening to tell us a few days later. President Johnson would continue the Kennedy policies, said Richard Scott in *The Guardian* of November 28th. He could have added (but of course he didn't) that these would as usual be a reflection of the needs of contemporary American capitalism. They were ably expounded by the new President thus:

... the unswerving support of the United Nations ... the honourable and determined execution of our commitments to our allies ... the maintenance of military strength second to none ... the defence of the strength and stability of the dollar ... the expansion of our foreign trade ... our programme of assistance and co-operation in Asia and Africa.

There have been two Democrats and one Republican at the White House since Roosevelt and any one of them could have uttered those words. For American capitalism has become a giant in world affairs; its days of isolationism are well and truly over.

## Rush to Pay Homage

This point was effectively, but probably not intentionally, underlined by Alistair Cooke when mentioning the huge number of foreign dignitaries at the Kennedy funeral. Reporting in *The Guardian* he said:

It now appears that no comparable gathering in one place of the great of so many nations has been since the royal trek to London for the funeral of King Edward VII.

In King Edward VII's time, Britain was still just about the most powerful capitalist nation in the world, although her position was soon to be challenged. She had a large empire for which the might of her navy afforded protection. There were also considerable investments abroad which brought in a handsome income. Not surprising, is it, that so many came to bow and scrape at the monarch's funeral?

But how times have changed. The mighty of yesterday are the minnows of today, and the rush to pay homage is away from British shores, across the Atlantic.

Both Mr. Krushchev and General Franco are reported to have condemned the murder of the U.S. president. Both these gentlemen are past masters in the art of bumping off their opponents, and are not really in a position to attack anyone else for the same thing. But as we said in a previous issue, humbug is nothing unusual for capitalist politicians, and anyway, both Russia and Spain are

at pains to keep in with the U.S. at present, although for different reasons. The Soviet Union has a growing threat from China to worry about. Spain is an important area strategically, and lots of American capital is invested there.

## More Promises

You can tell there's an election on the way. The promises are falling thick and fast from the lips of the various party spokesmen. At the beginning of November, the Prime Minister promised British youth nothing but the best. In his words: "Education, prosperity, opportunity, leading always to wider horizons. . . ." A month later, Sir Keith Joseph made yet another promise to solve the housing problem, this time to the electors of Marylebone. Speaking in support of the Conservative Quintin Hogg, he pledged that every bit of available and suitable railway land in London would be used for houses. He held out the prospect, for example, of a housing estate on the site of the present Marylebone goods yard.

The Labour Party is not far behind with its promises to end Racism and the land prices racket, and, of course, to build houses fast. And up and down the country the big poster adverts are appearing again asking for your support, urging you to place your trust in these parties once again, despite the fact that they have failed to solve your problems in the past. Alone at the next election the S.P.G.B. will put the sole proposition—"Capitalism or Socialism?" Why not give it some consideration for a change?

E. T. C.

## LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

### Sundays:

Hyde Park 3 pm  
Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm

### East Street, Walworth

January 5th (noon)  
January 12th (11 am)  
January 19th (1 pm)  
January 26th (11 am)

**Mondays:** Lincoln's Inn Fields 1-2 pm

**Wednesdays:** Outside Charing Cross Tube Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 pm

**Thursdays:** Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm



# The road ahead

The case for Socialism rests upon the fact that the capitalist social system cannot provide a decent life for its people and that, in the interests of those people, it should make way for the next stage in social evolution.

It is true to say that man has developed sufficient technical and productive capacity to sustain a social system in which wealth is freely available to all human beings. Capitalism itself has removed the barrier of low-productivity.

The one remaining obstacle to Socialism is the fact that the working class, who make up the majority of the population of the modern world, are not Socialists. Many of them have never heard our case and of those who have heard it most have rejected it. One of the irritations of being a Socialist is that the reasons for this rejection are too often rooted in ignorance—are, in fact, little more than transparent illusions. Many workers, with the tumult of capitalism raging about their heads, prefer to take comfort in these illusions rather than face the facts.

It is, then, part of a Socialist's job to do his best to destroy illusions. This is not necessarily work in which we take great pleasure; there are sickly too many illusions for that. It is simply work which must be done.

The idea that the working class today are prosperous, and that capitalism holds out a comfortable future for them, must be examined and shown up for what it is worth. The facts on work, housing, health, material possessions, and so on, must be publicised and—especially important—put into their proper perspective. It must be pointed out that capitalism is a social system in which the owning minority will always live off the best while the working majority exist off the mediocre.

The prospects which capitalism offers must be examined. They are not attractive.

The history of the working class has, inevitably, been one of superficial change. Nobody can deny—nobody would want to deny—that working class conditions have changed since the war. What can be questioned is whether those changes have always been for the better and whether those which might have been for the better are not outbalanced by others which have been for the worse.

This is the question which the preceding articles have put. If they do not make pleasant reading it is only because capitalism is still as full of urgent problems and discords as ever. Crime is still a running sore—worse than ever in recent years. Some illnesses—those that are typical of the rush and strain of post war capitalism—are increasing and have replaced the old killers which were characteristic of the days of unemployment. Popular cultural levels can never have been lower. And so on.

What this means is that, no matter how much capitalism changes, it remains the same. Workers are continually being deluded by plausible politicians who promise them that, if they will work harder, restrain their wage claims, and so on, they will soon enter the Promised Land of peace and plenty. Behind the delusion is the implied promise that capitalism is a system in which every prospect pleases.

In fact, it is always the prospects alone which can be made to sound attractive. The reality—the present—is never so good; that is why the politicians must always allude to the present as a sort of pause before the golden future.

It is all an illusion. Capitalism has no future to offer the mass of its people. The one solution to society's problems is the establishment of a new social order—Socialism—in which the means of producing and distributing the world's wealth will be owned by the world's people. The work of the Socialist Party of Great Britain is to spread the understanding and knowledge which Socialism requires.

This month's SOCIALIST STANDARD asks the working class: Where Are You Going? The future depends on your answer.



# Socialist Standard

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## THE COMING ELECTION

"The Labour and Tory Parties resemble a couple of shopkeepers who are frantically decorating their windows with every tawdry piece of tinsel they can find in their lumber rooms in order to attract the gullible and unknowing public."

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## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 6th and 20th Feb. 8 pm: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm: 7th Feb. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. 8EX 1950) and 21st Feb. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING**, See WEST LONDON

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursday 13th and 27th Feb. 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (12th Feb.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Every 2 weeks (Mondays 10th and 24th Feb.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (3rd and 17th Feb.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (13th and 27th Feb. in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th and 28th Feb.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

## DEBATE

For SPGB: J. D'Arcy

For Labour: J. Palmer  
(Parliamentary candidate  
for N. Croydon)

Sunday 23rd February 7 pm

## SPGB v LABOUR PARTY

"Which Party should  
Socialists support?"

Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Sq. W1  
(near Warren Street Tube)

February 1964 Vol 60 No 714

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain and the World  
Socialist Party of Ireland



SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting February 23rd.

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## The coming election

It would be a very dull person indeed who did not notice a certain something in the political air; a flurry of optimistic statements from members of the government, a series of sober suggestions which are supposed to help improve the world from the opposition. The two great political parties resemble nothing so much as a couple of shopkeepers who, anxious to attract the larger share of a spending spree, are frantically decorating their windows with every tawdry piece of tinsel they can find in their lumber rooms.

Mr. Harold Wilson, for example, recently made some proposals about disarmament. Speaking at Belper on 9th January last, he suggested, among other things; an international freeze on defence spending, restrictions upon the supply of nuclear weapons to the two Germanys, an agreement to ban all bomb tests. Now it is immediately obvious that there is absolutely nothing new about these suggestions. It is also obvious that they could equally well have come from any of the other capitalist parties and that in any case, because they take no account of the basic cause of modern war, they are quite impractical.

In the same way Sir Alec Douglas-Home, because he is the man in charge, must walk around with a perpetual sunny smile, as if the future were golden with hope. His New Year message held out the prospect of better schools, roads, houses, hospitals; exciting progress, splendid opportunity, and a great victory. The condition upon which these hopes are based is, of course, the necessity for the electorate to show their gratitude for twelve years of Tory government, for the wage pause, for the housing difficulties, for the international crises, by sending a Conservative majority back to Westminster. The Tories will do all they can, by way of promises, to ensure that that is the result of the election. Lord Blakenham's foreword to their last annual report pledged that the party's policy committees "will strive, in the years ahead, to make whatever adjustments of policies may be needed so as to optimise their electoral attractiveness."

The reason, we need hardly say, for all this frantic activity is that this is general election year—indeed, by the time this issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD is in our readers' hands it may well be that the date of the election has been announced and the battle has commenced.

There is no point in our trying to predict who will win—even if that were possible. But we can confidently forecast what will follow the election, whichever party forms the next government.

The working class will continue to struggle over their wages and other working conditions; in other words there will be more strikes and similar disputes. The government will attempt to hold wages in check and to persuade the working class that any rise they may have should be only a small one, and one related to a more intensive productive effort. There will be more tension on the international field—more clashes at places like Berlin, Cyprus, Borneo. There will be more conferences on how to ease these tensions and how to disarm capitalism. None of them will come to anything.

The working class, afflicted by the usual struggle to live, will become dissatisfied with their new government and may express this dissatisfaction by defeating government candidates in by-elections and replacing them with those of another party pledged to carry on the capitalist social system. This dissatisfaction is an inevitable part of capitalism because the problems which give rise to unrest are also part of the private property system.

The only solution to this calamitous muddle is the establishment of Socialism. It is simply not possible for any leader to make glamorous promises about that because the key to Socialism is the knowledge of the people who will set it up. In the election campaigns of the capitalist parties, knowledge is an alien word. How many people, among the mass who are hypnotised by the tinsel, will stand out by knowing and understanding and voting for Socialism?



## AT HOME

## Too simple

Peter Simple, the *Daily Telegraph* engaging columnist, is one of the few unrepentant reactionaries still in business. The bluest of Tories now profess to be progressives, but not Simple. He hates science, looks with suspicion upon anything labelled as progress.

His mythical community of Stretchford is a typical new town where masses of workers have been dumped and where their standards of culture and ignorance have taken control. His satirising of the popular press, through the medium of Jack Moron, is positively savage.

It is almost inevitable that, because he flinches at ugliness, because he probes constantly for left wing humbug, because he hates mob ignorance, Peter Simple should sometimes hit a nail on the head. This is what he wrote on December 18th last:

Teenagery is an industry. It brings immense profits to those engaged in it. It is as much a typical feature of our civilisation as the indiscriminate use of agricultural poisons, the destruction of the seaminess and beauty of our surroundings, the plague of motor-cars. None of these things would be a problem if there were no money to be made out of them. It is useless to appeal to the better nature of those who profit from the teenage industry.

Simple has no answer to the problem but then he is not the sort of man from

whom we expect answers. Indictment is his field: "There is no money," he says, "in decency."

It is too much to expect the *Daily Telegraph* to benefit from their columnist's flash of insight and realise that the ugliness and the futility of the world is caused precisely by the fact that all production is carried on because someone hopes to make a profit from it. But that is the truth of the matter.

As long as capitalism lives there will be the soulless wastes of Stretchford and there will be the sort of people who gobble up the spew of Jack Moron. And, presumably, there will be Peter Simple to look on it with a weary, irascible eye, hating it all but nevertheless supporting it.

## ABROAD

## Kenya, too

Everyone should now be accustomed to the nauseating acts which are played out whenever another country gets its independence. The celebrations among the people of the country, who appear to be happy in the delusion that they have gained something from the substitution of one set of rulers by another. The extreme nationalism of the new government—often imposed with a heavy hand. The back slapping and banqueting, between men who were only recently denounced as insatiable terrorists and the representatives of the government which so denounced them. All very familiar and all very sickening.

So it was when Kenya became independent, last December. An estimated £400,000 was spent on the celebrations, including a Miss Uhuru beauty contest which Mr. Jomo Kenyatta left in a huff because the band did not play the Kenya National Anthem when he arrived. Persuaded to return, the new Prime Minister warned that non-Africans must respect the African personality (wasn't there a man, before the war, who used to say the same sort of thing about the Aryan personality, at big rallies in Nuremberg and other German cities?) and said that if the band had not been Africans they would have been deported.

The Duke of Edinburgh attended a garden party where four former Mau Mau generals also turned up, but the Duke did not leave because his job was to stay and be chummy. Mr. Kenyatta had his photograph taken dancing with

the rather bewildered looking daughter of Commonwealth Secretary Duncan Sandys, who had presumably been briefed by daddy to do the honours to the ex Mau Mau leader. Mr. Kenyatta received a telegram from Sir Alex Douglas-Home which looked forward to welcoming him at the next Commonwealth Prime Minister's Conference in London.

Now with all this mateyness flying about nobody would think that not so long ago Kenyatta and the other Mau Mau leaders were reviled by the British government as primitive savages, heads of a secret society with disgusting initiation rites, terrorists who delighted in orgies of violence. This is the sort of propaganda which was put out in the past about other nationalist movements—about EOKA in Cyprus and the IRA in Ireland, for example.

In each case it eventually suited the British ruling class to come to terms with the nationalists. The propaganda changed and the nationalist leaders were welcomed to the circle of international rulers; their past, no matter how bloody, was forgotten and they soon became respected men. Kenyatta is only the latest of yesterday's enemies to receive this treatment.

The state of Kenya is beset with all the usual problems of a newly independent African country and the future of its people is not bright. Whatever hardships they may suffer, we may be sure that there will always be plenty of official hypocrisy for them to consume.

## BUSINESS

## Buses for Cuba

It was not surprising that Washington expressed its regrets at the contract under which the Leyland Motor Corporation will supply four hundred buses to Cuba. Castro is perhaps America's biggest and blackest bogey man at the present.

But equally it is not surprising that Leyland are eager to do business with Castro. They are no exception to the rule that production under capitalism is carried on for profit and they are ready to send their goods anywhere, if they think that the return is good enough.

Leyland are not, of course, the only vehicle manufacturers with this idea—the Cuban deal was settled in the face of competition from German, French, Japanese, Spanish and Czech salesmen.

The struggle for export sales, in this case, is obviously at least as fierce as for the home market.

Governments, as a rule, encourage their industries to export and often offer all manner of financial incentives to them to do so. There are exceptions to this, though—when the overall interests of a country's ruling class make it inadvisable for them to trade with another country, a government will often restrict or forbid exports to that country.

So it is at the moment with the U.S.A., which has a long list of countries on its black list, including Cuba.

But some industries chafe under these restrictions. In this country, for example, there is more than one pressure group which advocates the development of trade with the Eastern bloc, even at the risk of upsetting the Americans. These groups are not interested in the politics of the thing; they are concerned only with the fact that the Iron Curtain countries and China might well be a very profitable market for them to exploit.

There are at present no British restrictions upon non-strategic trade with Cuba and, for Leylands, selling buses there has for a long time been an attractive pro-

position. Over eight hundred have been sold since the war and Leylands are hoping for another order for a thousand. The firm also say that the Cubans pay their bills promptly and reliably, which just about seems to clinch it as far as the bus makers' interests go.

And if these interests clash with the wishes of the State Department, that only goes to show what a confused system we live under. Capitalism's alliances are supposed to make the world a safer and more settled place. But even within those alliances there are all manner of divided interests, of stresses and strains and—often—open rifts.

## A TALE OF TWO PARTIES

Once upon a time there were two Communist Parties. One was in Great Britain and was called the Communist Party of Great Britain: CPGB for short. The other was in New Zealand and was called the Communist Party of New Zealand: CPNZ for short. Ordinary simple people could see no difference between the two parties. But one day while they were watching their flocks they saw three wise men coming from the East, from Peking. The wise men said there was a difference. One was "revisionist" or bad; the other was "revolutionary" or good. So the simple people tried to guess what this could be. They knew the CPGB was nationalistic for they had read in a pamphlet on the Common Market:

Members of Parliament should be told in no uncertain terms that they were not elected to sell out British trade interests and British independence.

But they knew that the CPNZ was nationalistic, too, for it said it stood for "New Zealand Socialism." One of its pamphlets, *What Will Socialist New Zealand be like?* said:

In every way our Socialism will start on a one hundred per cent. New Zealand basis. It will bear the trade mark of our very adaptable and resourceful people—"Well Made, New Zealand!" and the simple people laughed when they read:

We have produced athletes like Lovelock, Halberg and Snell, who can take on the world's best and beat them hollow. Our All Blacks are feared throughout the Rugby world.

For a moment they thought that a "revolutionary" Party supported the All Blacks while a "revisionist" Party supported the British Lions. But the wise men said no.

Then they remembered that the CPGB wanted a Labour Party government and a few Communist Party M.P.'s. Perhaps this was the difference, they thought, perhaps the CPNZ is against its Labour Party. When they remembered that the leader of the Labour Party in New Zealand had once said, "there is no place today for what used to be known as the class struggle," they were certain. The CPNZ must be "revolutionary" because it opposed the Labour Party. But they were wrong. For someone told them that in *People's Voice*, the CPNZ's journal, they had read:

Our policy is to work for the return of Communist M.P.'s to Parliament and in electorates where no Communists are standing we will support the return of the Labour candidate to defeat the National candidate. (6.11.63).

Now they were at a loss. What could this difference be? And then they noticed something. They noticed that whenever there was a recession the CPGB used to say that trade with Russia was the answer while the CPNZ used to say that trade with China was. At first they thought that there was nothing here. After all, they said, Great Britain is nearer to Russia than to China and New Zealand is nearer to China than to Russia. But then they found that Russia and China were quarrelling and that the CPNZ again thought

that China was best. Then they understood. What makes a Party "revolutionary" or "revisionist" is not whether it is internationalist or nationalist, not whether it opposes or supports the Labour Parties, but whether it supports China or not. How wise these wise men were, they thought. And the wise men agreed.

The Chairman of the wise men then said, "Yes, we are wise. We don't care what the home policy of a Communist Party is so long as it backs our foreign policy. You see, we don't really care about theory. We are just using it to win support for our foreign policy in Communist Parties which are hostile to us. I will be frank. Our dispute with Russia is not one of 'revolutionaries' and 'revisionists.' It is a sordid and cynical struggle between two States." (Thunderous applause and cheers. Standing ovation).

The simple people went away a little wiser.

A. L. B.

## Debate SPGB v LABOUR PARTY "Can the Labour Party bring Socialism?"

For SPGB: C. May

For Labour: S. Bidwell (Parliamentary Candidate)

Wednesday 18th March 7.30  
Hammersmith Town Hall

## Companion Parties

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.

Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Porone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.



# A Guide for ambitious candidates

AS the next General Election draws nearer, there must be many Members of Parliament, and many who aspire to become M.P.s, anxiously casting about for material for their election addresses and for the public meetings at which they will have to present themselves to the voters. These addresses and meetings are full of pitfalls for the unwary, the unsophisticated—and the honest. This guide is offered to assist such candidates through their campaigns.

**PROGRESS:** All candidates must stand for progress. It is a good plan to say, at all appropriate moments, that we cannot put back the clock, or that we must be always forward looking or some such other meaningless phrase. If you are challenged to state what you mean by progress, mention automation, television, synthetic fibres, and so on. You may also be able to get away with earth satellites and nuclear energy, provided nobody in your audience is bright enough to connect these with inter continental ballistic missiles and hydrogen bombs. But if there are such people present you will probably have a difficult evening anyway, because they are bound to have some awkward ideas on progress and might even question whether what you call progress means better lives for the mass of the world's people. If they do, get the chairman to say that you must cut your reply short because you have another meeting to attend.

**HOUSING:** You are bound to be asked about housing. If your questioner is someone who is homeless, or about to be evicted, or is living with several children in a couple of rooms in a basement, you can exploit his plight in your reply. Lean forward, adopt a very earnest expression and assure him that you, and only you, can guarantee him a decent home. Labour and Liberal candidates can use the question to flay the government; Tories can turn the point by quoting suitably doctored statistics on the rate of house building, slum clearance, and so on.

All candidates should in any case have a supply of such figures readily available—they always sound very impressive. In particular, make play of your party's intention to do something about housing in the future. It is not advisable to dwell upon the past—somebody might point out that slums are developing faster than houses are being built and that no government has ever been able to solve the problem, although all of them have promised to do so.

**PROSPERITY:** This can be treated in the same way as housing. Compare pre- and post-war levels of wages, hours of work, and so on. Make sure that the figures you give for the average wage do not take into account any of the lower paid industries and that it includes payment for overtime, bonuses and such like. On the other hand, your figure for the length of the working week should be a basic one; it should not include overtime because this would show that the working week is longer now than before the war.

Promise to stop prices rising. Conservatives can excuse the rises which have happened since they came to power by blaming wasteful administration by the Attlee government. Labourites can attack confidently on this issue, provided nobody remembers their own record. Liberals also have a pretty free hand here, because of the length of time since they held power and the remoteness of the chance that they will ever get back.

Ignore any questioner who wants to know about the ownership of the means of production and the proportionate

division of incomes; these issues are too fundamental. Imply airily that prosperity for everyone is just around the corner, provided we all pull our belts in, work harder and keep our wages in check. If anyone is unkind enough to point out that your party has always made this promise, avoid the point by chiding him for being obsessed with the past and not looking forward to the glorious, progressive future.

**HEALTH AND EDUCATION:** You have a lot of scope here. Refer to the National Health Scheme as a great and merciful step forward in human welfare. (Tories will have to go easy here and forget that they originally opposed the Scheme.) Become indignant about the bad old days, when poor people could not afford to pay the doctor, the dentist and the optician. On no account go into the reasons for the Health Service, lest you reveal the fact that it is just another method of keeping the workers as fit as possible for better exploitation.

State that the best medical treatment is now available to everyone, but do not go too deeply into this, as there may be in the audience, say, a mother who contrasts the attention she got when she had her last child with that which the ladies of the Royal Family get when they produce. Somebody may also mention that Aneurin Bevan, although he fathered the Health Scheme, did not die in a ward full of other people, just like any unprivileged member of the working class. You can evade this one by attacking the questioner for besmirching the name of a dead man.

On education, mention the fact that more people than ever go to university and imply that this is because they are better off. Do not get involved in arguments about which income bracket tends to get to which university and whether a working class student goes there for the same reasons as does a rich man's son. Do not be afraid to mention public schools; in fact, you may be able to stir up some applause by pointing out that Churchill and Attlee were the products of those schools and asking what we would do without them. (On no account mention Profumo, who went to Harrow; he will not help you make your point.)

**YOUNG AND OLD:** This is an opportunity for you to appear at your most humane. State, with the air of a fearless discoverer, that young children are the adults of the future and hint at the great burden of public service which you now bear and which you will one day pass on to them. Follow this by saying that is why you are happy that children today are taller, heavier, stronger, etc., etc., etc. You may be sure that only a very determined heckler will want to know why industry is so interested in healthy children.

At the same time you must make it clear that old people do not escape your concern. Speak at some length on the labours they have performed and upon the nobility of a long life of hard work. You may even cultivate the ability to produce a tear, or at any rate a catch in the throat, at such moments. But make sure that these can be interpreted as only the results of manly sympathy and not of weakness.

Make it plain that you are all too well aware of the sufferings of countless old age pensioners and do not refer to the fact that this is the lot only of retired workers. Promise that a vote for you is a vote for higher pensions. All candidates, provided that they are careful in their selection of historical evidence, can attack their opponents on this score. But all of them should avoid mentioning the inconvenient fact that, in spite of the decades of promises, the conditions of old people

are still a social disgrace.

**PEACE AND DISARMAMENT:** Every candidate must stand for peace. Even if you actually advocate a war—for example, over Suez in 1956 or the Polish Corridor in 1939—you must make it sound as if you are only in favour of wars to preserve peace. (Most audiences will fall for this one.) Say, of course, that you stand for just and honourable peace and do not be drawn into the trap of defining these terms. If you find yourself in a discussion of the fact that previous peace treaties have only drawn out the frontiers over which the next war has been fought, blame this onto the lack of acumen of bygone statesmen, or upon the perfidy of foreigners. Let your listeners believe that you are above such mistakes.

Speak with pride of pacts like the recent Test Ban Treaty—imply that you, or your party, had a hand in it, whether this is true or not. Do not discuss the real reasons for the Treaty, nor the fact that it has been signed only by those nations who have bombs, but do not at present want to test them and by those who have no bombs and are not likely to have them. If a member of your audience points out that France and China, who are the countries most likely to want to test bombs in the near future, have not signed the Treaty, reply by suggesting that this is exactly the sort of behaviour to be expected from dirty foreigners like de Gaulle and Mao tse-Tung. You will find that, for most audiences, this is an acceptable line.

**FOREIGN AFFAIRS:** Although you must be careful to say that you deplore racial discrimination, it is usually pretty safe to play up to your audience's patriotism by implying that all foreigners are vaguely odd and that the only really trustworthy person is a Britisher. Make sure that in at least one spot in your address—more, if the applause warrants it—you refer to This Grand Old Country Of Ours. Speak of the conquests of other nations with asperity—few people will remind you of the unpleasantly bloody history of the British Empire.

Refer to our Exports as often as you can and give out the usual propaganda about how important they are—but do not

say to whom they are important. Give details about the successful export efforts of some foreign industries—Japanese shipyards, Continental dambuilders, and so forth—and suggest that this is a scandalous situation. Somebody in your audience may remind you that this country is one of the world's great exporters and that in any case the success or failure of a country's exports have little or no real effect upon the conditions of the majority of its people: in which case you are having a very unfortunate evening indeed.

**YOURSELF:** You must present an image of a sober, responsible family man who, although he has great talents, is still one of the ordinary people. Make it clear that your opponents are not supplying what you think is the right type of leadership and that things would be much better if the leaders were changed. You should not have much difficulty here; most of your listeners will have accepted that they need political leaders. Get the chairman to introduce you as The Next Member For This Constituency, but do not wait too long for the applause after this, lest the audience remain embarrassingly silent.

Do not shrink from shaking the dirtiest of hands, kissing the wettest of babies, lingering on the most heavily cabbage-scented doorsteps. Above all, do anything, go anywhere, promise anything, if it will win you votes.

**AND FINALLY . . . DON'T WORRY!** The promises you make may be wild, but perhaps you won't be elected anyway. And if you do get in you can always think up excuses for breaking promises (blame the Russians, the French, the Chinese, or your political opponents) and in any case the trick worked, didn't it?

But above all, remember that ever since capitalism came onto the scene political parties have lied and swindled their way into and out of power. The people who have been tricked have always forgotten the lies and the broken promises and have continued to vote for capitalism. So if you don't get in, some other fraud will.

IVAN

## THE TROUBLES OF SHIPBUILDING WORKERS

An ancient occupation, that of a shipwright. According to a gospel-grinding chippy of the writer's acquaintance, it dates from one Noah, who is supposed to have built an ark to keep a menagerie from getting wet feet. An obstinately bigoted and reactionary body of men, the Ship-constructors and Shipwrights Association. Much the same as other craft unions, of course, no better and no worse. Officerled by such Labour jackals as Alex. Wilkie, M.P.; John Jenkins, ex-M.P., and other equally ignorant shepherds of two-legged sheep, it is not to be wondered at that these one-time aristocrats of Labour find their economic position as bad as that of the docker, whom they secretly despise.

Modern developments in the shipbuilding industry enable the ship-

wright to see his skill gradually leaving his concealed carcass and inhabiting various machines, while our ultra-respectable mechanic, when not pawning the few remaining tools he needs, perforce becomes a fixer of machine made parts. This not only applies to shipwrights, but to all other artisans. It is the capitalist method of production and is therefore inevitable.

Shipwrights, like all other workers, have to learn that they are only tolerated at all upon the earth because they are useful in the wealth producing processes of their masters. When, by the development of machine production, their slight remaining skill is absorbed by the machine, shipwrights will be things of memory only, their tasks divided and sub-divided among machine operatives.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, February, 1914

## 1964 Electoral Campaign

**VERY URGENT.** We wish to contest as many constituencies as we can in the next General Election. It is our hope to put at least three candidates in the field and a deposit of £150 has to be put up for each. We therefore need £450 for this alone in the next few weeks in order to be assured that, if an election takes place early this year, this sum will be in hand. In addition, we need at least another £350 to cover the cost of printing, hall hire and so on. Thus, in all, we need not less than £800. Will all those who support us and wish us well, please make a tangible gesture of such support by sending quickly as large a sum as they can to the Party Treasurer, E. Lake, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4, clearly stating that the contributions are for the Parliamentary Fund.



# The development of Capitalism in Russia

THOSE who have read Lenin's *Left Wing Communism. An Infantile Disorder*, will recall that in an appendix he attacks the anti-parliamentary Italian "Lefts." This group, despite its extremist position, remained a part of the Italian section of the Third International until it was excluded by Stalin for supporting the Russian Left Opposition. This year the French

followers of this group have brought out a very interesting pamphlet on Russia entitled *L'Economie Russe d'Octobre à Nos Jours*, which is summarised below. Note that in what follows we are summarising the pamphlet and not necessarily expressing our own opinions.

## Lenin's plans

Before the Bolsheviks seized power in October, 1917 Lenin developed the theory that, as the Provisional Government was not prepared to carry the bourgeois revolution to its conclusion, the proletariat must take power. Once in power the proletariat would have to put into practice a number of immediate economic measures. These measures would not be socialist, but state capitalist. Lenin was impressed by war-time Germany where a form of state capitalism had been operated in the interests of the German capitalist class. What the proletariat in Russia must do, said Lenin, was to operate a similar state capitalist system but in their own interests.

## War Communism

Once in power the Bolsheviks introduced these emergency measures—confiscations, requisitions, various controls, rationing, nationalisation of the banks and the establishment of a state monopoly for foreign trade. None of these measures was in any way socialist or, indeed, regarded as such—at least not in Russia. At this time the government was a coalition of Bolsheviks and Left Social-Revolutionaries (the peasant party). In agriculture the Bolsheviks were forced to grant the SR demand for the division of the landed estates among the peasants instead of their own demand for the nationalisation without compensation of landed property. In fact, as Lenin pointed out, there was nothing that could be done against this as the peasants had already expressed their views by seizing the land.

When the Soviet Government introduced its New Economic Policy in 1921 a number of Communists, inside and outside Russia, denounced this as a betrayal of socialism. As a matter of fact, however, there was nothing peculiarly socialist about this period of so-called "war communism". The measures adopted were those which any bourgeois government would have adopted in the similar circumstances of civil war, foreign intervention and the threat of famine. One of the measures of this period which particularly attracted Communists outside Russia was the forced requisition of agricultural produce from the peasants when needed as this implied the abolition of the market. But there was nothing socialist

about this. The Soviet Government used the system which had been developed in feudal Russia for distributing corn in time of famine. Thus the requisitions of this period, far from being a form of Socialism, were simply the reappearance of a mediaeval phenomenon caused by special circumstances.

## The New Economic Policy

By 1921 it was obvious that the expected world revolution had failed to materialise (due to the betrayals of the Social Democrats). This meant that the Bolsheviks had no choice: they had to let Capitalism develop in Russia. The Soviet Government realised this and adopted the policy of "state capitalism" developed by Lenin in 1917. This was defined as the development of Capitalism under the control and direction of the proletarian state.

Figures showed that in 1919 industrial production was only one-seventh of the pre-war figure. The virtual ending of the civil war allowed Capitalism to be developed again with the full approval of the Soviet Government. A number of the emergency measures taken in the period of "war communism" were rescinded to facilitate this development: some factories were handed back to their owners and a tax in kind was substituted for the forced requisitions. The Government saw as their main enemy the petty-peasant economy and decided to rely on Capitalism to do the work of destroying this for them. Lenin realised that there were dangers involved in this, but unlike those who accused him of betrayal he was a realist. He knew he had no choice. In his report to the XIth Congress of the Communist Party in March, 1922 Lenin quoted a passage from an emigré bourgeois newspaper which read:

What sort of state is the Soviet government building? The communists say that it is a communist state and assure us that the new policy is a matter of tactics; the Bolsheviks are making use of the private capitalists in a difficult situation, but later they will get the upper hand. *The Bolsheviks can say what they like; as a matter of fact it is not tactics but evolution, internal regeneration; they will arrive at the ordinary bourgeois state, and we must*

*support them. History proceeds in deviant ways. (Our emphasis.)*

Lenin commented that this was quite possible and went on,

History knows all sorts of metamorphoses. Relying on firmness of convictions, loyalty and other splendid moral qualities, is anything but a serious attitude in politics. A few people may be endowed with splendid moral qualities, but historical issues are decided by vast masses, which, if the few do not suit them, may at times treat them none too politely. (quoted p. 57)

Lenin thus realised that nothing the Bolsheviks could do could prevent the development of Capitalism in Russia or, even, the degeneration of proletarian rule into the "ordinary bourgeois state". This is precisely what did happen in Russia. The "vast masses" behind Stalin working for the ordinary bourgeois state triumphed over the "splendid moral qualities" of the Left and Right Oppositions struggling to preserve proletarian rule.

## Agriculture

In 1928 occurred the famous "turn to the left" and Stalin began his policy of "dekulakisation". The kulaks, or rich peasants, were to be eliminated and peasant farms "collectivised". This policy was opposed by both the Left and the Right Opposition because they saw this as a step backward. They regarded it as the worse possible compromise with the peasant economy. For it smashed private capitalism in the countryside. But this private capitalism was a progressive force which NEP had wished to encourage precisely because it would lead to the weakening of the peasantry.

Stalin's "collectivisation" had the opposite effect. It has led to the stabilisation of peasant economy. For the collective farm is a static form which shows no tendency to evolve toward the expropriation of the peasantry. Khrushchev by denationalising the machine and tractor stations has strengthened the peasantry even further. The collective farm is nothing new in Russian history. In the middle ages there existed similar peasant corporations, the *artels*, where the more important means of produc-

## Industrial Development

The Russians and their apologists are very fond of pointing with pride at the figures showing industrial development in Russia and saying that only a socialist economy could do this. But consider the figures:

			Average Annual increase per head
Years			
1922-28			23%
1929-32			19.2%
1933-37			17.1%
1938-40			13.2%
1941-46			-4.3%
1947-51			22.6%
1951-55			13.1%
1956-60			10.4%

## LIVESTOCK (millions)

	1916	1960
Cattle	58.8	75.8
Cows	28.8	34.8
Pigs	23.0	58.6
Sheep/Goats	96.3	132.9

## INDEX OF LIVESTOCK per head (1916 = 100)

	1916	1960	% change
Cattle	100	82	-18%
Cows	100	77	-23%
Pigs	100	163	63%
Sheep/Goats	100	98	-2%

tion were held in common while the peasants retained their individual house and surrounding land, some livestock and tools. This is precisely the position of the collective farm today—and the importance of the private plot for Soviet agriculture should not be underestimated. In 1960 33 per cent. of cattle were raised on family plots, 48 per cent. of cows, 31 per cent. pigs and 22 per cent. of sheep (p. 80).

Soviet agriculture has been in a state of chronic crisis since Stalin's forced collectivisation. The table below shows that, except as far as pigs are concerned, the figures for the various types of livestock per inhabitant the situation was worse in 1960 than in 1916.

A similar situation exists with regard to grain production: "the production per inhabitant was 576kg in 1913; it had been 610 kg in 1960 (1950?), but only 588.6 in 1959" (p. 119).

Three sectors in Soviet agriculture can be distinguished today: State capitalist (the State farms), private capitalist (the collective farms in their co-operative aspect) and sub-capitalist (the family plot).



## Conclusion

ALL we know about the Russian economy has shown us that the development of production there has followed the directing lines of capitalism in passing through its two stages: revolutionary installation of bourgeois economic and social structures first; consolidation of these structures afterwards. Between 1928 and 1952, Russian pre-capitalism has become a fully-developed capitalism and this process has transformed Russia into a modern and "civilised" country.

Apologists for Russia call this "the construction of Socialism." Furthermore, the fantastic development of production they call "communism" and they insert between these two stages the transition from "Socialism" to "Communism," which in fact is only the stabilisation of the capitalist forms of production and life" (p. 130).

The present Russian vision of ever-rising wages and ever-falling prices seems to show that they want to deal with "commodities, value, money, and all the features of capitalist production forever." But this has nothing to do with the "communism described time and time again, from the first erudite texts of the young Marx to the theoretical analyses perfect in their conciseness, of the fundamental book of our doctrine, *Capital*—this communism will finally realise the end of capital, of wages, of commodities, of money, of the market and of the firm" (p. 131, their emphasis).

We would agree with this conclusion. There are, however, a number of views expressed in this pamphlet which we would not endorse. We would not agree that Russia had a "proletarian state" until the Left Opposition was defeated. Even under Lenin it was quite evident that the Soviet Government because it was developing capitalism was coming into conflict with the Russian working class. Nor would we agree that the rule of the Bolshevik organisation was equivalent to the rule of the working class. In October, 1917, not the working class but the Bolshevik organisation seized power. Certainly at the same time interesting makeshift organs of administration, the Soviets, appeared, but the Bolsheviks soon saw that their power was replaced by the rule of the Bolshevik Party. The Russian revolution was, in our view, essentially a bourgeois revolution. Of course, peculiarly Russian conditions determined the particular form of this bourgeois revolution—a revolutionary intelligentsia leading the working class and peasantry against Tsarism and the bourgeoisie—but its content was unmistakably bourgeois. This is why Bolshevism should be seen not as a working class trend but as a bourgeois-revolutionary theory using Marxist terminology and concepts.

The pamphlet can be obtained from "Programme Communiste," Boite Postale No. 375, Marseille-Colbert, France, for 4 New Francs.

A. L. B.

**PARLIAMENTARY FUND** We intend to contest three constituencies at the next General Election. Our coffers are low, time is short. Send your donation now to SPGB Parliamentary Fund, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4



## Why prices go up

It is not the purpose of this article to go into the basic questions of the relationship of value and price. It is sufficient to remind the reader that there are underlying factors which determine why different articles have different prices; why, for example, an ounce of gold sells for more than an ounce of silver, or a pound of bread, or a ton of coal.

This article will only explain why prices and the general price level change from time to time, apart from the underlying value factors.

There are a number of popular beliefs about prices, all of them wrong. One is that prices go up because trade unions ask for higher wages. Another is that prices are determined by manufacturers, wholesalers and retailers having a free hand and being able to charge what they like. Another is that high prices are caused by taxation. Lastly there is the belief that prices always go up.

The last can quickly be disposed of. After the first World War, prices reached their peak in 1920 and then came down with a run. Within a few months they dropped by a third, and the decline went on more slowly for several years. And during the nineteenth century there were several periods of falling prices.

Pinning the responsibility for high prices on the trade unions is just as easily disproved by the facts. Trade unions are always "asking for" higher wages, so if this belief were correct prices too would always go up; which they don't. In 1921 when trade unions were forced to accept wage cuts of about 33 per cent., the members were still passing resolutions asking for wage increases.

"Asking" isn't the same as "getting." When trade is bad and prices are falling, employers fight trade union demands and stand up to strikes and resort to lock-outs. If they didn't, their profit would disappear and they would go out of business. Under Labour Government, from 1947 to 1951, wage rates were not even keeping up with the rise in prices, partly of course because many workers were influenced by government appeals to them not to strike for higher wages. The rise of prices then obviously could not be explained by what the unions were doing.

If, in all the years since the war, it has been easier for trade unions to get higher money wages than it was before the war, this is due partly to low unemployment but also because, for other reasons which will be explained later, employers have been able to count on a more or less continuous rise in the prices of what they were selling.

The people who think that price rises are caused by the trade unions say that they know this to be true because they can see it happening: a rise of wages, then a rise of prices. What they overlook is that when two events happen more or less at the same time it does not have to be true that one thing causes the other. They can both be the result of some other change, and this is often the correct explanation of price rises and wage rises. When a period of slack trade, falling production and heavy unemployment is followed by a recovery of sales, expanding production, and falling unemployment, manufacturers and retailers are in the position of being able to put up their prices, and at the same time the unions are better able to press for higher wages. It just happens that sometimes one comes first and sometimes the other. This has been given striking proof in the recent increase of engineering wages and the way the employers have reacted to it.

The manufacturers have, it is true, used the increase of wages as their justification for putting up their prices, but as

has been pointed out by those in a position to know, many of the price increases have been larger than the additional wage costs which are supposed to have caused them.

The President of the Purchasing Officers' Association, in a recent letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, complains that while the wage increase on an annual basis represents a rise of 3.9 per cent., members of his Association "have reported demands for increases in the prices of many goods varying from 2½ per cent. to 8 per cent." Our inquiries show that the average wage claim is in the order of 7 per cent. What in fact has happened is that the market for their products has improved and the manufacturers are able to take advantage of increased demand by putting up prices; the wage increase is just a handy excuse.

But not all of them are in this favourable situation. The Birmingham Small Arms Company which makes motor cycles, scooters, machine tools, etc., is not putting up its prices. This isn't because it has not the same excuse as the others, but because its particular market won't bear it. The engineering wage increase will add over £300,000 a year to B.S.A.'s wages bill and according to the Chairman other costs are rising too. So why not put up their prices? The Chairman, Mr. Eric Turner, thought of this but found it could not be done. He told his shareholders at their Annual Meeting on December 5th last that for B.S.A. "almost all the additional costs would have to be borne out of profits, as it was not possible to increase the majority of their selling prices." (*Daily Telegraph*, December 6th, 1963.)

This, of course, is the answer to those who think that manufacturers can fix what prices they like. A year earlier the Chairman of B.S.A. had reported that the firm's profit had dropped to nearly half what it had been because of shortage of orders.

Then we have the belief that high prices are caused by taxation. The firms which use wage increases as an excuse for putting up prices will just as glibly use the excuse of high taxes. The cinema proprietors are a case in point. The *Daily Mirror* on January 3rd announced that Ranks are putting up prices of admission by 3d. or 6d. Granada are doing the same. But the interesting thing about it is that although rising costs are given as the reason, something which must affect all of them, Ranks are putting up prices only at 190 out of their 390 cinemas and A.B.C. "have no plan for a rise in prices." The reason for this selective treatment was indicated in the *Financial Times* on January 4th. It is that while in the industry as a whole the trend is still in the direction of falling attendance at cinemas, "Many cinemas have been doing better business in recent weeks, stimulated by a run of popular films."

In short, where the proprietors can hope to be able to get more revenue by higher charges they are putting up the prices and where they can't they leave them alone in spite of their rising costs. In some areas the closing down of some cinemas enables the others to charge more.

Before 1960, when the cinema tax was abolished, the cinema proprietors used the existence of the tax as an excuse for their prices. This is worth looking into. In 1956, the year in which Government revenue from the cinema tax was at its peak, it reached £34 million, but with the rapid decline of audiences (largely caused by the competition of television) hundreds of cinemas were closed. The Government then progressively reduced the tax before eventually ending it. And according to the Ministry of Labour, this is what happened

to cinema prices. In 1957 tax reduced; cinema prices go up. In 1958 tax reduced again; cinema prices unchanged. In 1959 cinema tax again reduced; cinema prices go up. In 1960 cinema tax abolished; cinema prices unchanged but go up in 1961 and 1963 and now again in 1964. Just before its abolition in 1960 the tax was bringing in revenue to the Government of £8 million a year.

When it was ended in the 1960 Budget the *Daily Herald* (April 5th, 1960) had two news items. One was "prices will stay the same." The other was a statement by Rank's managing director: "I'm absolutely delighted," as well he might be. £8 million might be hardly worth the cost and trouble of collection to the Government but was a godsend to the companies. In the years after the war the cinemas had a near monopoly of popular entertainment and where there is monopoly control of supply together with a big demand, prices can be pushed up to produce abnormally high profits. In such a situation the Government can step in with a tax to skim off all or much of the excess profit. It was not the cinema tax that caused prices to be high in the boom years, but the near monopoly. When the cinemas lost their appeal and much of their audiences, they were no longer getting abnormally high profits capable of providing a worthwhile special item of Government revenue.

Many of the aspects of prices so far dealt with applied in the nineteenth century and apply today, but there is one factor operating now which was absent then. In the nineteenth century the currency was by law fixed at a constant relationship with gold, a gold sovereign contained approxi-

mately a quarter of an ounce of gold. Bank of England notes were freely convertible into gold and notes could be obtained for gold. The general price level was in consequence affected by changes in the value of gold. A rise in the value of gold (assuming that the values of other commodities remained unchanged) would show itself in a corresponding fall in the general price level, and a fall in the value of gold (due to the discovery of more easily worked deposits, or improved methods of extraction) would show itself in a rise of the general price level, as happened round about the beginning of the century.

But in the past thirty years the note issue has not been convertible into gold and the gold equivalent of the currency notes has been progressively reduced.

The stages in this process have been the devaluing of the pound from being the equivalent of \$4.86 to \$2.80; the reduction of the gold content of the dollar itself to about one half in 1934; and the steady and enormous increase of the number of pound notes in issue that has gone on since 1938. In effect the pound now represents about one-twelfth of an ounce of gold in place of approximately one-quarter of an ounce at which it was fixed in the last century. The effect has been a more or less continuous rise in the general price level so that retail prices are now over three times what they were in 1938.

This is the major cause of rising prices: not the trade unions, or the unfettered will of manufacturers, or the amount of taxation, but the currency policy of successive governments.

H.

### A one-act monologue

## SAMSON AND THE PHILISTINE

(Scene: After Samson's capture and blinding. Samson pauses on his treadmill, rattles his chains, and mumbles something about the class struggle. A runty, quick-eyed fellow stands at some distance from him, smiling jovially and fingering a barbed whip. As he begins to speak, his mien and gestures resemble those of a carnival pitchman.)

Samson, your groans are dated; what do you mean, class struggle? There's no class struggle. Look how far I have elevated you above the abject, miserable state you were in a century ago, when I first blinded you and put you in chains. You think you have it bad now; why, without me you could never have it so good. Apparently you've forgotten when you trod the mill eighteen hours a day, barefoot over sharp rocks, with spikes on the inside of your collar. Apparently you've forgotten the bite of the lash on your back, it's been so long since I've had to lay it on. Remember the bread you used to eat then? Full of alum and chalk? Remember the goads and tortures on your flesh when you raged and wouldn't tread the mill? And look at you now, lapped in luxury; the sharp stones gone, fur on the inside of your collar instead of spikes, sandals to keep your soles from getting calloused—why, I haven't whipped you for years. Next thing I know you'll be wanting mink gloves and gold toothpicks. What don't I do for you? Look at me, all kindness and benevolence. Instead of a lash I

hang sweet-smelling carrots in front of your nose. Don't you prefer them, or would you rather have the lash back?

Samson my boy, you've grown sleek and strong since I switched you to meat and potatoes, and you do so much more work! Do you not also have frequent rest periods, and are you not now only obliged to tread eight hours (maybe ten or twelve if we count overtime and moonlighting) instead of the former eighteen? Haven't I given you the freedom to change your manacles every four years? Haven't I given you the freedom to criticize the workmanship of your collar any time you want? Haven't I given you the freedom to eat your meals on time? Haven't I given you the freedom to worship whichever of my overseers you choose? You look so healthy since I've been treating you better, you may last me another hundred years. You're a fine specimen, Samson; I couldn't have gotten a better commodity if I'd scrounged the labour market forever.

I throw you scraps from my plate every Christmas and let you frolic with the female slave on the other treadmills. I give you scholarships and time off so you can study treadmills and learn how to make your work easier, and all I ask in return is that you also make it go faster. And you don't appreciate any of it. You just rattle your chains and growl, and stop your treadmill to ask for more scraps. Now really Samson, how do you expect me to get my grain ground when you act that way? Have a little kindness. What do you want to do, make a slave out of me?

Nicky Krusher and Blastro use the lash on their hands. It could happen here, you know.

We could get along so well if you would only stop this growling and keep your hair cut. What's this malarkey about your being propertyless? Don't I give you food, sandals, and hides to wrap yourself in on cold days? Don't I supply the treadmills? Don't you own your own chains? And what do you mean I don't earn my living? I worked hard enough to catch you and blind you. Didn't I? It's a day's work just to keep you plodding around, let alone the accounts I have to keep of what you produce for me. So you think you don't need me, huh? I'd like to know who'd keep you working for me, who'd hang up the carrots in front of your face, who'd lay on the whip when you needed it, if it wasn't for me?

If only you would drop this class struggle thing, we could be so happy together—you making the goodies and I consuming them. I would always keep fresh carrots in front of you and throw you all my extra scraps, and if you worked hard enough I'd even sell you a gold ring for your nose. I tell you what, I'll make a deal with you, a contract: a fresh bone every Christmas if you stop being angry and get to work. Straight business proposition. How about it? Don't we have a lot of common interests?

(Samson rattles his chains and looks at his hands. What does he see? Will he ever see again? There is a good chance, if he wants to. Everything hinges on his morale, you know.)

STAN BLAKE



## Can we trust the population experts?

NO doubt there have always been people curious about what the future will bring and other people willing, for due reward, to satisfy their curiosity.

Before our era the foretellers of the future—the prophets, the oracles, the astrologers, the fortune-tellers and palm readers—claimed some special inspiration; nowadays the role has been largely taken over by the politicians and newspapers, who in turn rely on the scientific experts. In a period of about a hundred years their expertise has been more and more supported by the mass of statistics produced mainly, but not entirely, by government departments. And this statistical material is popularly, but quite erroneously, accepted as giving additional authority to the forecasts.

Recently the Tory Government issued a White Paper indicating how the amount of Government expenditure will increase some years ahead, backed by figures; but this is no more reliable than the Tory statement at the 1951 election that they were appalled by the way the Labour Cabinet had increased government expenditure and would cut it down; a promise completely falsified by events. No government knows what situation it will be dealing with in five years' time; nor do the statisticians.

There is a famous saying that figures can't lie but liars can figure. Whoever said this was worrying about the wrong thing. It isn't so much the liars who feed us wrong information about the future as the confident "experts" who believe they are speaking the truth. Nowhere has this been more glaringly shown than in the field of forecasting the size of the population.

Probably there were people in this country about the year 1330 who went around saying that the population would be much larger twenty years ahead, not knowing that the Black Death would wipe out a third or more of them. They did not have the benefit of statistics about the way the birth rate and death rate had been moving in past years, but it wouldn't have made their forecasts any better if they had. Our modern experts have not even the excuse of a major calamity to explain theirs.

About the beginning of the 19th century quite a lot of the economists shared the view of Malthus about the need to restrain the birth rate because of the supposed inability to provide rapidly growing supplies of food; they failed entirely to foresee the enormous growth of population that took place during the century and before long their views were discredited and largely forgotten.

Just a century later the Malthusian view had a rebirth with Keynes and other Cambridge economists. Keynes started it in his *Economic Consequences of the Peace*, published in 1920. He feared that overpopulated Europe could no longer feed itself and was faced with a declining standard of living. Other books were published surveying the problem and suggesting the need to seek a solution in a smaller and stable population. Among these was *Population*, by Harold Wright, with a preface by Keynes (1933).

Although there were other economists, including Cannon and Beveridge, who contested the Keynesian view, it became increasingly the fashion in the nineteen-thirties to predict that the population of this country would rise for a few years and then go into a decline. Some of their predictions were published in a book called *The Home Market*, 1939, which had the unintentionally ironical sub-title, *A Book of Facts about People*.

The purpose of the book was to enable manufacturers to know what size they might expect their potential market to

be in the years ahead so that they could plan accordingly. It had a foreword by Mr. Frank Pick, Vice-Chairman of the London Passenger Transport Board, who saw in the provision of information the means of avoiding "lack of balance between supply and demand." (Can it be that this may have been responsible for the deficiencies of transport in London?).

The book's population estimates were those of Dr. Grace Leybourne, but readers were assured that similar estimates had been made by Dr. Kuczynski and Dr. Enid Charles, two other authorities. And what did the stars foretell? The population (excluding Northern Ireland) was then about 46,350,000. The forecast was that it would reach a peak of 46,500,000 in 1941, and then drop by 4 millions to 42,700,000 in 1951 and by another 3 millions to 39,400,000 in 1961.

In fact the population (again excluding Northern Ireland) had reached 51,350,000 by 1961. Instead of falling by 7 million after 1941 it had gone up by about 5 million!

They also tried their hand at foreseeing changes in the age group. They were right about the increase in the proportion over age 65, but quite wrong about the numbers of children. They thought that the number of children under 15 would have dropped in 1961 to 5½ million: it actually turned out to be 12 million.

If perhaps London Transport were misled by the pre-war experts as to the likely size of the travelling public in London, the Education authorities must have been shattered to find that they had to provide for double the number of school children the experts expected.

After the war the government set up the Royal Commission on Population which in its report in 1949 was very cautious about the future, merely saying that the total population would probably go on growing for at least one or two decades, "though the increase in this period is not likely (immigration apart) to exceed more than a few millions." (Para. 632.) The Government then entered the tricky field of forecasting future population itself, but it hasn't been any luckier than the experts of "private enterprise."

It started in the 1956 edition of *Annual Abstract of Statistics*, in which it estimated that the population (excluding Northern Ireland) would be 51,796,000 in 1960. The actual figure for 1960 turned out to be 587,000 higher than the estimate. Not perhaps a very big error, but large enough to cause headaches to anyone who made plans based on the smaller figure. As the Minister of Health recently complained, how could he be expected to build sufficient maternity accommodation when "the birth rate was rising more rapidly than any experts had foreseen." Naturally the longer the forecast the larger the error may turn out to be.

In the 1956 edition of the *Annual Abstract* the population to be expected at the end of the present century was given as something under 53 million. But in the 1962 edition this had been amended to 68 million, a trifling 15 million more. They are not the first to risk forecasting how many people there will be in this country at the end of the century. A Fabian pamphlet, *Our Ageing Population*, published in 1938, opened by quoting an estimate of the Population Investigation Committee that if "there is no change in the present trend of the birth and death rates" the population at the end of the century will be 17,700,000!

So we are on firm ground at last. It will be 17,700,000; or maybe 53,000,000 or 68,000,000; or some other number, larger or smaller.

H.

## Open letter to Dick Taverne, MP

Sir,

You may remember me as the Socialist who had the difference of opinion with you at a Marylebone meeting recently (or rather, I was one of a number). I hope you will not mind my writing to you. I have been engaged fairly actively in Socialist politics for many years and this is the first time I have felt prompted to do so.

I asked you a question about South Africa and you gave two replies (you will appreciate, I am sure, that a witness who gives one reply to a question and when that does not go down very well comes up with another answer, is always calculated to make the judge look over his glasses). Your first reply was that I had got my facts wrong. The second was that you were at school at the material time. And it is the latter answer which impels me to try and continue your education by means of this letter. I trust you are not already offended and that I do not appear too patronising. You must remember that it was you who pleaded youth in extenuation of ignorance; I am merely answering your implied cry for help.

Obviously, if you are too young to know one aspect of politics it is unlikely that you will be bristling with a sound knowledge of the facts on other matters; however, in this letter I propose to deal mainly with the South African question which started things off at the meeting. You were asked how you could reconcile your criticism of the British Tory Government record at UNO on the question of apartheid with the fact that when your own party was last in power they followed an identical policy at UNO. As mentioned above, your first shot to the effect that my friends and I had got our facts wrong, was wide of the mark. It is true that we had not brought any dossiers of evidence along but the vehemence of our reaction caused you to change course immediately.

Now I am sure that an intelligent young man like you who only recently hit the headlines as one of the late Hugh Gaitskell's new crop of M.P.'s, if you felt you were in the right, would not be put off his stroke by a handful of irate questioners amongst a hundred of his own supporters. Perhaps you realised that you really did not know the facts and that it was therefore simply not possible for you to maintain your stand. Of course, when you grow older and more experienced you will realise that it is possible to maintain even downright lies

as long as your questioners are few and your supporters are both numerous and uncritical. At present you have not yet reached this stage.

Your next line, though, was really rather breathtaking. You were still at school, you said. This is no doubt true. But it will hardly do, will it? After all, if you are on a platform as a representative of a party you must surely be presumed to know what it did yesterday and even the day before. I was speaking on public platforms for the Socialist Party (and against the Labour Party) before I was twenty. But I would not have been able to do so had I not satisfied my comrades that I know all about my party's activities from the time it was formed (which was not when I was at school but long before I was born). Yes, and all about your party, too, and about all the other parties which seek power on a programme of reform of capitalism some of whom, like yours, claim to be Socialist (or at least used to; I noticed that neither you nor any of your colleagues on the platform so much as mentioned the word Socialism). In fact, I was ready to answer questions about the economic and social causes of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire as well as the change from primitive communism to property society; both of which, you will realise, happened well before I started school, let alone left it.

You see, we hold that those who are not possessed of the necessary knowledge, either through their youth or for any other reason, should not presume, too, to instruct others from platforms; a proposition which you must agree is eminently reasonable. And my colleagues and I are only amateurs; we are none of us full-time paid politicians like you.

At any rate, I am sure you would like to know the facts so that next time you come up against others who know them, you will not feel at such a grave disadvantage. The government, when run by the party that you represent and which you may one day even lead (you seem to have all the advantages which Harold Wilson had and more; you are just as young, you are better looking, and equally you know nothing about Socialism), did all the things at UNO when the South African question was on the agenda that you now accuse the present government of doing. Not being a full-time politician and not having the staff at Transport House to wade through the records I cannot cite some of the choicest examples, but the following two or three,

taken from a five-minute glance through *Keesing's* in the local library should do.

Nov. 29 '49: Resolution proposed by Scandinavian countries calling on South Africa to submit the question of the mandate to S.W. Africa to the International Court of Justice was carried 30-7. Your government abstained from supporting what it called the rule of law in international affairs.

Dec. 5 '50: A resolution condemning Apartheid defeated by, amongst others, the vote of your party's government.

Nov. 28 '49: This was the occasion when the Rev. Michael Scott made a speech about the appalling sufferings of the Herero tribe. India moved a resolution condemning S. Africa. Carried 31-10. This time your lot did not abstain. It was one of the ten who voted against. You can imagine who the other nine were; if you can't, I suggest you look it up and see what kind of company your government was keeping while you were at school. Even the United States (not a Socialist country even by your notions) could not bring itself to associate with them and abstained.

Of course, all this was some years ago. But your party had the biggest majority of any party this century. And you must admit that it is rather less than honest to accuse your opponents of actions while hiding or denying the fact that you did likewise the last time you had the chance to do anything at all. And although some of the actors have passed on to higher things, some of them are your leading colleagues today who were not unknown school children in those days. For example you are no doubt acquainted with Barbara Castle who leads your anti-apartheid wing now. Well, she was old enough to know all about it.

I'm afraid I may have been a little too facetious in my letter. Things are really not funny at all. And the saddest thing is to see young people like you, able, intelligent and with the gift of tongues, swimming comfortably with the tide; the tide of capitalism that has for so long drowned all the hopes of a decent world for the human race to live in.

If you would like me to send you a pamphlet about Socialism, please let me know. I am sure you will find it a revelation. Then next time you are on a platform and a Socialist asks you a question, perhaps you will not feel so badly out of your depth.

Yours truly,  
L. E. WEIDBERG



## BOOKS ON FRANCE AND CHINA

**The Trial of Charles de Gaulle.**  
 Alfred-Lucé, Methuen, 30s.

ONLY English readers well up in French politics are likely to face this book on equal terms. And we doubt whether all that number of French readers would have coped so easily either, had they been able to read it; which they were not, by the way, since it was banned in France.

The trouble comes from unfamiliarity with most of the personalities, and the complexity of the events; all capitalist politics are unsolved, we know, but French politics must be the most involved of the lot. The machinations, the intrigues, the conflicts of interest, the complex struggles for power, are really intimidating to the outsider.

Things are not helped by the author's device of a mock trial for the General; the result of this is to allow free scope to the much greater latitude in French courts for fact to be mixed with fiction, and to make it all the harder to sift the real from the opinion and the hearsay.

The idea of political trials does not come too startlingly in France, where they have a long history going back to before the Revolution. We are reminded in the introduction, in fact, that it is not so long ago that a hundred members of the Vichy government were put on public trial, including the former head of state, Pétain. Some of the accused, like Laval, actually ended up before a firing squad. In contrast, the last such trial in England goes back to 1805.

From what we are able to gather, however, Mr. Falre-Lucé himself seems really to be opposed to the idea of political trials and only uses the mock-up of one against de Gaulle to bring the General and his activities into the arena of public debate. In particular, the only punishment postulated for the accused, should he be found guilty, is a vote of censure.

The author extends the device further by allowing de Gaulle to remain silent during his trial, using as actual precedents Pétain and Salan, who also kept silent at theirs. This gives him full scope to marshal the arguments for and against the accused, mostly in the form of real statements by real persons, though he also brings in a few fictional characters; even these, however, are used as convenient mouthpieces for real statements representing other general and well-known points of view. The whole thing is done very cleverly, the atmosphere of the trial being particularly well captured.

As for the arguments, suffice it to say that telling points are made, and others

seem to be made, by both sides. But, perhaps because one is a very much detached observer, the only feeling at the end is of indifference and unreality. Both accusers and defenders seem obsessed with a personality—de Gaulle. For some, he is the personification of all that is noble, all that is right, all that is good; for the others he is the embodiment of evil, Satan incarnate. For his defenders, he represents salvation; for his accusers, he is the agent of damnation. Leader or devil? Military genius or upstart colonel? Far-seeing prophet or arch-traitor? Liberator or renegade?—these are the terms in which the debate is conducted. It is altogether too superficial and unconvincing.

The result may be witty and entertaining, but it does not get us very far. All the fine words and stirring speeches, the scintillating arguments and witty exchanges, fail to make us forget the harsh realities of French life during the past thirty years—the misery of a second world war in twenty years, the hardships and terms of the occupation, the agony of Indo-China, the criminal folly of Suez, the bitterness and bloodshed of Algeria. Clever fantasies of word battles mock-fought over the alleged motives, virtues, and failings of one man have no relevance to problems such as these.

As a polemical exercise, the book can be given full marks. But for what it tells us of importance concerning the political and economical realities facing French capitalism and—much more important—the French working class, it impresses not at all.

S. H.

### A New Religion for China

Robert S. Elegant, Methuen, 42s.

China is the latest recruit to world capitalism. The ruling-class there have taken over a whole bag of tricks from their fellow ruling-classes of the West and brought them up-to-date for the ruthless exploitation of their workers, both civilians and soldiers. They have used the technique of convincing the Chinese that the system of society there is communistic and that the government is a workers' council acting for the workers. They have used expert propaganda to train their workers, or at any rate some of them, to be super-patriotic and ready to fight and die for the motherland; Chinese workers are now trained to believe that they are a kind of master race and that the rest

of the world are barbarians; they have become super-employees, working fantastically long hours with many doing two jobs. School children and students, in addition to their classes, have to work long hours on farms or construction jobs.

China, the land where compromise was for centuries the order of the day, has now gone to extremes in almost everything imaginable. No more of those succulent meals, at least not for the working-class. Every place of employment has its canteen, including the communal farms, where small portions of rice and vegetable gruel are served, occasionally with a microscopic amount of meat. But money talks there as anywhere else, and for the wealthy there are black-market supplies at the usual high price. There is food rationing throughout China. The Chinese family, for centuries the closest-knit in the world possibly, has been broken-up, the children taken over by creches, the parents separated from each other and forced to sleep in dormitories near the job. All this they are being trained to view as more important than the family.

The agnostic Chinese have also been given a god—Mao-tse-tung; a bible—the collected works of Lenin, Stalin and Mao-tse-tung; priests, the omnipresent Communist Party cadres who supervise the workers politically not only on the job but in the street committees, trade union meetings, etc.; and an inquisition more gruelling than anything the Jesuits ever devised. Like the Christians in the West, they have a heaven that will never materialise; the Chinese pie-in-the-sky is the Socialist State towards which they are supposed to be going via this vale of tears. Tighten your belts a bit more, the Chinese workers are told, and you will be one step nearer the promised land. This exhortation seems to ring a bell here! But all this is for the workers only—the ruling-class do not need it.

Mr. Elegant in his book goes back to Confucius in his research on the unique Chinese conviction of superiority, as he terms it. He traces the history of China from 1600 A.D. and describes in detail the past decade, analysing such aspects as the Peoples' Communes, Mao and the other leaders, the Sino-Soviet dispute and the structure of both the Communist Party and the Peoples' Republic. Here, in a fascinating portrait of a powerful new force in the world today is a blending of scholarship, journalism and political commentary. This reviewer was most impressed in face of the vast and detailed knowledge of the author but, despite the fact that Mr. Elegant is a

## Branch News

newspaper correspondent and perhaps should be expected to know better, he does not understand what make the society we all live in tick.

He doesn't see the world as it is, divided into opposing groups, the workers and the ruling-class, whose interests are diametrically opposed. He sees the world divided into good people and bad people, good leaders and bad leaders. He sees two opposing systems of society, the free world of the West, and he is on their side and they are good; and the dark satanic world that lies behind the iron and bamboo curtains. That he regards as bad, and he hates their social system, which he mistakenly believes to be basically different from the capitalism of the West. This view colours his comments

F. E. OFFORD

### HEAD OFFICE MEETINGS

52 Clapham High Street, London SW4  
 Sundays, 7.30 pm

February 2nd

#### ALIENATED MAN

Speaker: P. Laurence

February 9th

#### CND AND THE ELECTION

Speaker: M. Judd

February 16th

#### ISRAEL TODAY

Speaker: L. Weidberg

### GLASGOW MEETINGS

Woodside Central Halls,  
 Glenfarg Street  
 Sunday 7.30 pm

#### "IDEAS AND MEN"

February 2nd

#### THE ILLUSION OF RELIGION

Speaker: A. Shaw

February 9th

#### MENACE OF RACIALISM

Speaker: K. Young

February 16th

#### NATIONALISM—A DANGEROUS MYTH

Speaker: T. A. Mulheron

February 23rd

#### IS SOCIALISM A DREAM?

Speaker: J. Higgins

### WEST LONDON

Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall  
 Hammersmith, W6

Friday, 14th February, 8 pm

#### CRIME AND CAPITALISM

Speaker: H. Baldwin

throughout the book, which can only be regarded as just one more addition to the muddle-headed spate of pro-capitalist propaganda with which we have to cope in the meagre columns of the SOCIALIST STANDARD.

It is little wonder that non-Socialist readers who peruse books of this type are induced to loathe the very connotations of the word Socialism, not knowing that China is the latest example of a backward country, pitchforked by events into the maelstrom of a world of capitalism already developed, and using the quickest method of catching up with the others. It is not Socialism that they are criticising but the growing-pains of this youthful capitalism.

### PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
 (near Marylebone Road and Station)  
 Wednesdays 8.30 pm

February 5th

#### THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

Speaker: J. D'Arcy

February 12th

#### SOCIALISM AND THE KIBBUTZ

(a discussion with a speaker from the organisation of Jewish Pioneers for Israel)

February 26th

#### WILLIAM MORRIS—A Socialist assessment

Speaker: C. Devereux

March 4th

#### THE LONDON TRANSPORT STORY

Speaker: W. Waters

### WELWYN GARDEN CITY

The Community Centre (Room 3)  
 Mill Green Road

Thursday, February 13th, 8 pm

#### THE LABOUR PARTY

### BETHNAL GREEN

Town Hall, Cambridge Heath, E2  
 Wednesday, February 12th, 8 pm

#### THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

Speaker: D. Zucconi

### ISLINGTON

Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road,  
 N7

(near Finsbury Park Tube)

Thursday, February 13th, 8 pm

#### THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY

Speaker: D. Zucconi

### INTER BRANCH MEETING

Wembley, Paddington, West London  
 Monday, 10th February, 8 pm

Barham Old Court, Barham Park  
 Wembley

#### THE TRAFFIC PROBLEM

Lewisham Branch, in anticipation of the General Election, have a full programme of meetings and activity arranged for the next few months. Their first meeting is at the Bromley Library Lecture Room, High Street, Bromley on "What is Socialism". The date—Friday, February 28th at 8 pm (Full details are advertised in display panel in this issue). The following meeting at the same venue is titled "Wages and Inflation", and is on March 20th. Intensive work will be put into Bromley by the branch with the help of other London members prior to the General Election when it is hoped that the Party will be able to contest the Bromley constituency. When the date of the election is known, members from all over London will make a special effort to assist in Bromley, but meantime all help will be welcome by Lewisham Branch.

We are happy to acknowledge donations from the following: Ethel L. Lee Haing, Sydney, Australia (£39 16s. 9d.), Mrs. P. de Cleve, Wellington, N.Z. (£1), "A Sympathiser" from Sunderland (10/-), and from Vienna, our comrades Frank and Pelinger £1 10s. each. It is particularly pleasing to learn that comrades so far away, whilst working hard under difficult conditions to spread the Socialist message, in addition contribute so generously to our funds.

Paddington and Marylebone Branch have a very full programme arranged right up till April. Full details in the meetings column. Glasgow also have a very full programme in preparation for the General Election. Details of their immediate meetings are advertised in this issue.

We regret that a printing error was made in Branch News in the December SOCIALIST STANDARD. Under activity in Swansea reference was made to the "Anti-Panzer Group"—this should have read the "Anti Nuclear Group".

We are very sad to learn of the death of our comrade Mark Bredon of West Ham Branch. Due to illness he had not been around very much of late, but he will be well remembered for his visits to Head Office and Conferences despite great difficulty in walking. He had been a Party member for more than thirty years.

P. H.

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays:

Hyde Park 3 pm  
 Beresford Square, Woolwich 8 pm  
 East Street, Walworth  
 February 2nd (11 am)  
 February 9th (12 noon)  
 February 16th (11 am)  
 February 23rd (1 pm)

**Mondays:** Lincoln's Inn Fields 1-2 pm

**Wednesdays:** Outside Charing Cross  
 Tube Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 pm  
**Thursdays:** Tower Hill 12.30-2 pm



# The Passing Show

## Magic of the New Year

The beginning of last month was the signal for church bells to ring out, for everyone to wish everyone else a happy new year (probably few believing that they would achieve it), and for silly people to risk a chill and throw themselves into the fountains at Trafalgar Square. Every year it happens with monotonous regularity—every year it is just as futile and stupid.

It all stems, of course, from the time-honoured illusion that somehow the advent of a new year automatically wipes out the mistakes, horrors and heart-breaks of the last 365 days. A sort of magic aura surrounds this arbitrary dividing line, with the old year depicted as a very old man plodding wearily to his grave, and the new year as a lovable little baby—as if youth itself were any guarantor of our fortunes. A new leaf has been well and truly turned, and the way ahead is clear.

What a false idea, but it is one to which most people cling and to which politicians, press and pulpit all pander, although it depends on whether you are a member of the government or opposition party, just what sort of new year's message you utter. For instance, Prime Minister Douglas-Home thinks that we are in for a year of "splendid oppor-

tunity . . . five years of exciting progress . . . prosperity widely shared . . ." etc. But Liberal Leader Grimond talks of increased inflation and " . . . a decisive year for Great Britain. . . ."

Further afield the new U.S. President Lyndon Johnson tells Mr. Krushchev of his confidence that "peace on earth, goodwill towards men . . . we can make it a reality," at the same time as his French opposite number de Gaulle is announcing his determination that France shall have the H-Bomb as quickly as possible. You see what a silly season it is? A time, in fact, when anything can be said and excused, no matter how senseless, because nobody really means what he says then, anyway.

And what, belatedly, do we think of the prospects for 1964? Why, the same as for any other year or at any point in any year. It doesn't take an *Old Moore's Almanack* to tell us that capitalism will continue, and its problems with it. For most of us it means a drab and insecure life, and as much as ever the threat of war hanging over us like an angry black cloud. Nothing very magic in that.

## Profit trends in 1963

For most of us drabness and insecurity, but for a minority just the opposite. This is the standard condition of capitalism with which we are so familiar, but now and again it is thrown into relief by a news item such as the *Guardian* report of January 1st. This tells us that 1963 was a good year for company profits with a net rise of over 12 per cent. in the case of 199 firms listed in Exchange Telegraph's statistics service during December last.

The total for almost 4,000 companies exceeds £1,450 millions and is over three per cent. higher than 1962. Just shows, doesn't it, the exploitability of the working class—and this in the year of the great freeze-up and close on a million unemployed earlier on.

## But not for them

There is one thing (among many others) on which all the capitalist parties agree, and that is the need for "wage restraint." They have all said it—in fact Mr. Grimond is in favour of a national maximum and of sanctions against firms who "grossly exceed what is justified." All sorts of arguments are used to try and persuade workers that the less they have, the better off they will be.

But when it comes to M.P.s' salaries, we hear a very different story. It was not long after the last war that they voted themselves a rise of £400 a year, and now

a three-man committee is going to look into the whole question of M.P.s' and Ministers' pay, with the promise of an early report. This has the support of all parties in the Commons. What is the betting that: (a) the committee will recommend an increase, and (b) it will be speedily voted into existence by the grateful members? And will you hear then of any argument about restraint? Not very likely.

## Colonial "Freedom"?

The oppression in Ghana worsens almost daily. A judge there has been dismissed for bringing in a verdict which displeased President Nkrumah, and the acquitted prisoner has been re-arrested under the Preventive Detention Acts. He'll be lucky to get out in ten years.

The president is not resting there, however. He is seeking by referendum to confirm his dismissal powers, and it's a fair bet he will get his way because opposition to his wishes is a punishable offence. Then one more nail will have been driven into the coffin of whatever limited political democracy once existed.

We cannot help remembering at a time like this that we were urged to support the struggle for the establishment of Ghanaian independence, and it was the Movement for Colonial Freedom who assured us that it would hasten the removal of the old colonial yoke and the birth of democracy. The Socialist Party was not popular because we refused our support, but our arguments are the same now as then, and subsequent developments have proved the soundness of our stand.

So let us repeat that colonial freedom means freedom for the rising native ruling class. The workers in Ghana and elsewhere are becoming painfully aware that they have changed their white bosses for ones with darker skins, that is all. It is no part of our job to encourage the establishment of capitalism, whether democratic or dictatorial. Our aim is a world of Socialism, and then democracy in the fullest sense of the word will be a reality.

The Movement for Colonial Freedom is obviously not a Socialist body, but even the limited freedom which they hoped for in Ghana has not emerged. It is a time for them to eat their words. But more than that, it is a time for them to seriously consider the case for Socialism.

E. T. C.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son, Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London E.C.1.

## BROMLEY MEETINGS

Public Library (Lecture Room)  
High Street, Bromley, Kent.

Friday 28th February 8pm

## WHAT IS SOCIALISM?

Questions & Discussions

Watch these columns for  
further General Election  
Meetings in Bromley

## NEXT MONTH'S MEETING

Friday 20th March

WAGES AND INFLATION



# Socialist Standard

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## PEACE IN OUR TIME

Socialists are opposed to war but primarily they are opposed to the capitalist system which causes war among other terrible social problems. The real choice today is between capitalism and socialism. Why not face this fact and work with us to build socialism?

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## Socialist Party

OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 5th and 19th Mar. 8 pm: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm: 6th Mar. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. 8EX 1950) and 20th Mar. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING**, See WEST LONDON.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE5. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact, I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MIDHERTS** Thursday 12th and 26th Mar. 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (11th Mar.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Every 2 weeks (Mondays 9th and 23rd Mar.) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (2nd and 16th Mar.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (12th and 26th Mar. in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (13th and 27th Mar.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

Sunday 29th March, 7.30 p.m.

### CONFERENCE RALLY

## SOCIALISM AND LABOUR'S NUCLEAR POLICY

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1

March 1964

Vol 60 No 715

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland



### SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting March 22nd.

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## Peace in our time

When he announced, last month, his intention to retire from the House of Commons, Mr. Harold Macmillan looked back upon the achievements of his premiership in his way: "The thing I set myself to do almost from the beginning . . . was to make at least the beginning of better relations between East and West." These words give an insight into the pessimism with which the politicians necessarily regard the prospects for peace in the world. Rarely indeed can they offer anything better than "the beginning of better relations" between rival nations.

Although the big parties promise almost anything by way of better houses, schools, hospitals, social services, and so on, none of them is prepared to stick its neck out to the extent of professing to be able to abolish war. At the most, they say that peace and disarmament in our time is a remote possibility—something we might have if apparently insoluble problems like Berlin can be solved, or if apparently intransigent adversaries like the Chinese can be pacified, or if apparently persistent crises like Cuba, Korea and Suez can be prevented.

This pessimism is general among the capitalist parties. Although all of them strike some sort of an attitude over the Bomb, they all agree that in some form Britain must have it. Sir Alec Douglas-Home's speech at Bury, in which he proclaimed his government's determination to bargain for international influence through its nuclear weaponry, was a precise enough statement of Conservative policy. (How many Labourites remembered that Home's speech echoed Bevan's famous plea, in 1957, against being sent naked into the conference chamber?)

The alternative which the Labour Party have now to offer is to get rid of an independent British Bomb because, among other things, it is too expensive, and to rely upon the supply of nuclear weapons from the United States. This was how *The Guardian* reported Mr. Harold Wilson's statement on this issue in the House of Commons on January 16th last: "... Britain should cease the attempt to remain a nuclear Power since it neither strengthened the (Anglo/American) alliance nor made adequate use of our resources."

And later in the same debate: "We believe there should be much closer cooperation in NATO for deciding . . . on circumstances in which a bomb should be dropped."

A nice way of putting it. How likely is it that such "circumstances" will arise? At present, apart from minor incidents, the world exists in uneasy peace. But the elements of a future war are still there, needing only another insoluble crisis to fuse them into an almighty explosion. If a hot spot like Cuba or Berlin were to take the world over the Brink, there is no doubt that all the capitalist parties would forget their minor differences and squarely support the war, even if it were fought with what they call the ultimate weapons.

Is the situation, then, hopeless? Is Peace In Our Time an impossible dream?

To answer these questions we must look at the basis of capitalist society. We live today in a social system in which the means of producing and distributing wealth are owned by a small minority of the world's population. This basic condition leads directly to the production of wealth with the one object of making a profit. Mr. Enoch Powell, M.P., recently put it this way: "The duty of every management was to conduct the business in a way which was likely to maximise the return on the capital invested." (*The Guardian*, 29/1/64.)

But running a business to "maximise the return on the capital" means searching ceaselessly for the markets where the products of the business can be sold. It means struggling for access to cheap and plentiful sources of raw materials—for oil fields, copper mines, rubber plantations. And, because all businesses everywhere want to maximise their returns, it means that the world is split into rival nations and groups of nations. Sometimes they take their rivalry into the conference chamber. Sometimes they take it onto the battlefield.

But wars cannot, of course, be fought without weapons. It is futile for CND, and similar organisations, to demonstrate against a particular type of





weapon—or indeed against war itself—at the same time as they support the social system which produces war. This futility bears its fruit in the splits which have characterised the anti-nuclear movement of late, and in the changes in attitude like that of Bertrand Russell, who is now prepared to accept something less than total renunciation of the Bomb: "... while our ultimate aim should be the transference of armed force to an international authority, we should welcome partial measures leading in this direction—as, for example, the lessening of military budgets. . ." (*The Guardian*, 29/1/64.)

To end war we must end capitalism. Nothing less will do.

This could be a straightforward matter—everything that is required for it is present, except for a knowledge of, and desire for, Socialism on the part of the working class. The evidence which testifies to the validity of the Socialist case on war is massed all around us. It points clearly to one conclusion.

We can have Peace In Our Time—if we want it.

## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### ABROAD

#### 'Freedom' in Africa

By European standards, the recent mutinies in East Africa were very small beer. It was crushingly ironical that when the trouble started the new governments turned to the hated and despised British ex-rulers for help. If this proves anything, it is that ruling classes all over the world, whatever the colour of their skin, have common cause in the maintenance of their privileged position.

The troubles turned a spotlight upon Africa which is very disconcerting for the organisations which can always be relied upon to support any movement (especially in Africa) for national independence. These organisations have argued that the nationalist movements stood for freedom against the oppression of a foreign power. But how has freedom fared in the newly independent states?

Only five of them now make any pretence at being democratic. Ghana—the favourite example, of course—is now what the pro-Nkrumah Accra *Evening News* calls a one party democracy. Uganda has promised that it will also become a country where only one political party is allowed.

On all sides there is a developing African patriotism which is as pernicious and as nauseating as the Blimpishness which it ousted. Nkrumah and Kenyatta have both done their part in fomenting this patriotism; only last January Uganda's Prime Minister said that there is what he called "an urgent need to cultivate national consciousness."

This indicates what will happen when the workers of Kenya, Uganda and the rest start their first organised struggles to improve their wages and working conditions. They will be foolish to expect their

new, African, masters to take seriously the promises they made, in the days when they were opposing British rule, about freedom and human rights.

Capitalism laughs at such concepts. That is something which, we hope, the African workers will come to appreciate. It may even also get through to the people who like to call themselves progressive, the people who unfailingly speak up for *Uhuru* and other swindles which promise freedom and happiness but which only bring the customary repression and poverty.

#### Stiff Sentence

Reuter reports from Moscow that two former directors of a Riga department store have been found guilty of accepting bribes. Over here, that sort of offence against capitalism's rules of legal robbery would mean at the most a few years in prison. But in the so-called Socialist paradise it means something else. Both men were sentenced to be shot.

### AT HOME

#### The Paul Report

There are many occupations under capitalism which will be quickly dispensed with under a Socialist administration. To list a few that will disappear, we have all banking and financial wizards and non-wizards, all military, naval and air force personnel, decorated and un-decorated, all ticket collectors on trains, buses, ships and air liners, all advertising, sales and business executives and, last but not least, lurking in the background of the commercial drapery, with soft lights and sweet music, the modern clergy.

After the publicity given to the Paul Report, this particular occupation of clergyman is in the news at the time of writing. The *Liverpool Echo* was recently lamenting the city's shortage of clergymen and quoting from the Report that a ratio of one clergyman to 6,000 population showed Liverpool as "... one of the country's worst hit spots". . . . Rather a novel way of putting it, like a shortage of coal in winter, or a shortage of water in summer!

The question arises—are these reverend gentlemen who wear their collars back to front, deal in holy water, and claim to be the earthly representatives of the supernatural, indispensable to society? The answer is that capitalism finds them an indispensable ingredient in fostering and perpetuating the myths of antiquity which Marx correctly described as "... the opium of the people."

So, whilst clergymen may be necessary to a ruling class anxious to control the brains of their wage slaves, we, the working class, could well travel along the road to our emancipation in a quicker, lighter way, freed from the phoney incantations of these modern medicine men.

The working class have no cause to lament a shortage of the "tools" their masters use against them, rather should they rejoice at any evidence that the religious pillar of capitalism is crumbling away.

#### End of R.P.M.?

As the general election draws nearer, the government tells us that every decision they make is a compound of courage, wisdom and humanity. That is why Sir Alec Douglas-Home described the move to abolish resale price maintenance as the grasping of a nettle.

## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

It is not unreasonable to ask why they took so long to make up their minds, these wise, courageous, humane men. Only a few years ago the government gave R.P.M. its blessing; even now, it is not sure that price fixing will end. The proposed legislation will have plenty of loopholes through which even a moderately determined manufacturer will be able to slip and so continue to impose his terms on the retail market.

Perhaps the announcement was part of the usual pre-election handouts, like the raising of the school-leaving age. If the Tories can convince the voters that they are on the side of the consumer against the price-fixer, they may win some marginal seats in areas like the North and Midlands, where the price-maintained goods are so widely sold.

Of perhaps it was another move in the interminable fight against wage increases. Mr. Edward Heath, speaking to a Young Conservative conference last month, defended the decision to end R.P.M. on the grounds that:—

... it had been found that full employment and an expanding economy brought rising prices.

The Government believed the best way to deal with this problem was in the general context of competition between firms and in the retailing and distributive part of the economy. This was where resale price maintenance had had its effect. (*Daily Telegraph*, 10/2/63.)

Price levels are, of course, a vital factor in the bargaining which goes on over wage claims. No post war government has been able to halt the rise in prices, although all of them have promised to do so. Abolishing R.P.M. might be Douglas-Home's contribution to the wage battles of the next few years.

Meanwhile, the supermarkets lick their lips. Already they are slashing prices, pushing the little man farther and farther into the back street corners where his only sales appeal is that he gives "service." This is capitalism grinding on in classically ruthless style and the big supermarket tycoons, apparently, love it.

Probably a lot of workers will fall for the promises about the benefits which lower prices are supposed to bring them. There are plenty of people who regret the days when half-a-crown could buy a night out in the West End. A lot of the glamour rubs off these reminiscences when we remember that wages were then proportionately lower.

The fact is that anyone who has to work for his living always gets, on a

general average, enough to keep him going. If prices go up, he gets a little more; if they go down, a little less. Sometimes this process may take a time to work out in the labour market, but in the end that is what happens.

This should always be remembered when we are talking about prices and wages. Unfortunately, it is more than likely that the ballyhoo over resale price maintenance will ensure that, not for the first time, the very fact that should be kept in prominence is obscured.

### Spare a thought

The Sultan of Zanzibar, after fleeing to this country from the coup which deposed him, was reported to be in dire penury. He had to leave his posh hotel and to put up some of his retinue in a Salvation Army hostel. But the cruellest cut is, apparently, yet to come. The Sultan will now, said his private secretary, "... have to earn his living."

Now the ruling class are never tired of telling us about the nobility of labour and about how good it is for us to rely upon our wage for our living. Yet when one of them is deprived of his investments and is faced with becoming one of us, their reaction is sympathetic horror. A flash of insight, this, into what our masters really think of this social system—and of the people who are foolish enough to let it continue.

### BUSINESS

#### Fiftieth Birthday

Nineteen sixty-three was the fiftieth anniversary of the New York stockbroking firm of Merrill Lynch, Pierce Fenner and Smith.

This firm recently announced its results for last year: operating income of \$170 millions, net profit of \$18 millions, 137 offices in the U.S.A. and 17 outside—including one in London. And an item of expenditure, on advertising and "public education," of \$4.6 millions.

In the stuffy world of stockbrokers, Merrill Lynch have long been something of an unconventional outfit. For some years they have been trying to float their own shares on the New York Stock Exchange and have been prevented only by the Exchange's constitution. When they opened their London office three years

ago they upset all the conventions over here by advertising their services in the press—something which, they say, has paid off handsomely.

It is by a typical piece of chop-logic that the Stock Exchange, although it allows its members to deal in the shares of companies whose advertising campaigns may be nothing more than dishonest, frowns upon those same members advertising themselves. Well-cared-for stockbrokers can apparently see nothing wrong in a tobacco company tempting its customers to ignore the evidence which links smoking with lung cancer, but they can see everything wrong in a broking firm tempting those same customers to invest in the tobacco companies through them.

Merrill Lynch's ads were aimed at the small investor—indeed, they have a rule that they never turn away any customer, no matter how little he has to invest. They thus have an interest in fostering the delusion that a worker can get rich by risking his paltry savings in a share gamble rather than by using them in some other way.

This is a useful delusion for the capitalist class. A worker who invests a few pounds usually thinks that he has a stake in capitalism and is, therefore, that much more servile and uncritical of the anomalies and inhumanities of the system. He will think that way even though his chances of making a significant profit from his shares are infinitely less than those of losing his lot in an unwise speculation.

Who, then, is likely to make a profit on the Stock Exchange? Take a look at Merrill Lynch's balance sheet and you will see.

### Debate

#### SPGB v LABOUR PARTY "Can the Labour Party bring Socialism?"

For SPGB: C. May

For Labour: S. Bidwell (Parliamentary Candidate)

Wednesday 18th March 7.30  
Hammersmith Town Hall



## The piper and the tune

WE are now, ladies and gentlemen, approaching the period of mud-slinging, evasions and lies which goes under the name of a general election.

The campaigns which the two main parties carry out cost them both a lot of money—and this in itself promises to be one of the smaller issues in the election. For the Conservatives, and some of their supporters, spend much more on their propaganda than the Labour Party does. This has given the Labour Party the chance to pull out of the cupboard one of their favourite bogymen—the corrupt Tory in the pay of rich industrialists who expect some legislative favours in return for the money they have lashed out on Central Office propaganda.

In the two years up to the last election the Conservatives spent about £468,000 on advertising and during the campaign itself £475,915. (These figures, and some of the others in this article, are taken from some contributions to *The Guardian* by its Labour correspondent, Mark Arnold Foster.) A Labour candidate recently estimated, in *Socialist Commentary*, that the Tories put about £1 million a year into all forms of central expenditure. The pre-election spending goes into the sort of campaign which Colman, Prentis and Varley waged so successfully for the Macmillan government and into the sort of posters which are now dominating so many hoardings, with Douglas-Home's head tilting massively into a goofy smile, promising us Straight Talk and Action. (Even if we did not already know it, all the emphasis on action and energy among politicians would tell us that an election was near.)

Apart from their own spending, the Tories are supported by some industrial groups, and some companies, who donate to their funds (Fisons gave £2,320 in 1962) and who push out anti-nationalisation propaganda. Before the last election these groups spent £1,435,000 on this sort of activity.

The Labour Party are also supported by outside contributions which we shall deal with later. But even so, their expenditure does not come anywhere near that of the Conservatives. In 1959, every Tory vote cost the party 3s. 6d., against the 1s. 8d. which every one of their votes cost the Labour Party.

The amount which a candidate may spend on his campaign is limited by the Representation of the Peoples Act to £450 plus 1½d. or 2d. per elector, depending on whether the constituency is town or country. But the Act only applies to the period of the campaign itself. Money which is spent on propaganda before the election is announced escapes the Act's restrictions. That is why we are now being treated to press advertisements which innocently tell us how efficiently the steel industry is being run under private enterprise and to others less innocently worded, which are outright attacks on nationalisation. All of these are paid for by the steel companies or by groups like Aims of Industry.

Any business man who wants to make an anonymous contribution to the fight against nationalisation can send his money to Aims of Industry, or to other groups like British United Industrialists or the Economic League. All three of these have some impressively rich and powerful chiefs of commerce and industry among their sponsors. In many ways, the Economic League is different from the other two; it is more of a storm troopers' organisation, running its little green vans all over the country, holding meetings at factory gates and street corners, offering a lecture service to apprentices and supervisors.

The Labour Party say that they want these organisations brought out into the open. They want them to publish their accounts; they want all the companies who donate to political parties to say so. They also think that the Tories should publish their accounts. They hint darkly about rich men secretly master-minding the Tory government. This may be fruitful propaganda for the Labour Party; it may also be a useful excuse if they lose the election. Nothing so soothes the disappointment of a defeated Labour man as the conviction that, although the common people are solidly behind him, he has been robbed by the underhanded intervention of the unscrupulous rich.

The Conservatives like to say that the hand outs they receive from the industrialists are no different from the support which Labour gets from its affiliated Trade Unions. Certainly, trade union money is important to the Labour Party; in 1962 the Transport and General Workers gave them £37,500, the AEU £29,047, the mineworkers £20,124. Apart from this, there are the sponsored candidates who are financed by their unions. But the big difference is that the unions publish the details of their contributions and that any member who does not want to pay the political levy (and none of them *should* want to) can quite easily contract out of it. This is in contrast to the secrecy which surrounds the donations to the Tory Party.

We can expect the Labour Party to plug the line that it is undemocratic for a political party to be financed by outside organisations and to spend a lot of money on its campaigns. Expensive propaganda is popularly supposed to obscure the issues in an election and to undermine the simple voter's ability to see clearly through to the heart of things. This, incidentally, was said a few years ago about the last electoral campaign of Dr. Adenauer, when his Christian Democratic Party swept back to power in West Germany and some political observers professed to see a threat to democracy in the costly campaign which the CDU had waged. This idea is important—and importantly wrong—enough to be dealt with in stages.

First of all, is it true that political parties are dominated by the organisations who donate funds to them? Has the Conservative government gone out of its way not to upset its supporters in industry and commerce? Far from it. Its 1962 Budget, for example, was criticised by the journal of the National Association of British Manufacturers as giving assistance to the car, television and radio industries

... at the expense of other industries notably furniture and clothing which are in no position to help others. The injustice to the users of heavy hydrocarbon oils remains. The concession on estate duties is too small to be significant for small, privately owned businesses and the 10 per cent surcharge on revenue and purchase tax has, in most cases been consolidated, becoming a permanency with the possibility of a further 10 per cent addition.

The same government has forced large scale amalgamation among aircraft firms. It has imposed vast cuts in the cotton industry and in its intention to abolish resale price maintenance has upset many of the small shopkeepers who, we are told, have faithfully supported it for years.

Similarly, it is wrong to say that the Labour Party is dominated by the Trade Unions and that a Labour government would therefore knuckle under to strikes and other industrial action. The last Labour government fought wage claims all the way along the line and took a much tougher line with

unofficial strikes (official ones were hardly heard of in those days) than the Tories have done. In fact, although they were formally linked with the Trade Unions, the 1945/51 Labour government opposed every attempt to apply the object—the improvement of working class conditions—which every union should have.

This can all be put into perspective. Political parties do not get power in order to pay off electoral debts nor to favour any industry or group of industries. Whatever may have been true in the past, modern parties in this country want power simply to run British capitalism in the overall interest of its capitalist class. Sometimes this means—as it did in 1945—that some basic industries must be nationalised. Sometimes—as it did later—that others must be amalgamated. Or—as it does now—that there must be some control on the speculative development of land. Both Labour and Conservative parties broadly agree on what British capitalism needs to have done and both are prepared to do it.

If, that is, enough people vote for them. That is why they spend so much money in trying to persuade us to do just that.

There is nothing intrinsically undemocratic in expensive election campaigns. It is no empty truism to say that democracy depends upon the existence of democrats. That fact is too often ignored; the Labour Party are ignoring it when they say that the donations to Tory funds are undemocratic.

## Big stamp wrangle

THE biggest battle for a long time is now being fought in the retail trade in this country—and all, on the surface, over a little piece of green, or pink, or gold, sticky paper called a Trading Stamp. Yes, on the surface. The real cause of the battle is to be found much deeper than any newspaper cares to dig.

Trading Stamps have been going in this country for a long time with Green Shield, a British company, having the big hold. But the stamps were mainly confined to small shops; they had no really big retail organisation to issue them. What started the present fuss was the decision of millionaire Garfield Weston (ABC, Fine Fare Supermarkets) to issue the American Sperry and Hutchinson pink stamps in his supermarkets.

This started a flood of stamps, among them another American concern—King Korn—and another British—Super Yellow, owned by the same John Bloom who has made a lot of money out of direct selling washing machines. One gimmick followed another—Mr. Weston, for example, had glamorous pink-coated hostesses outside his supermarkets dishing out the S.H. gift catalogue.

Sperry and Hutchinson have been going for a long time—since 1896, to be exact, and have been in England, looking for an outlet, for over a year. They claim forty per cent. of the £300 million trade done in 275,000 retail shops in the States and have 280 redemption shops where their stamps can be exchanged for what are called gifts. The man behind them is Mr. William Sperry Beinecke, who says that trading stamps are no panacea for the retailer but only a promotional tool to help his sales.

Ranged against the stamp firms are some of Britain's retail giants Boots, W. H. Smith, Sainsburys, and so on. Labour peer Sainsbury, who has hundreds of shops, is spending some £50,000 in a campaign to thwart the trading stamp firms. Sainsbury opposes the stamps because, he says, they are wasteful and in the end lead to higher prices. And, of course, because they are "unfair competition." He is doing his best to persuade the Labour Party to make the matter one for legislation.

On the side of the big retailers in the battle is the shopworkers' union—USDAW, whose executive committee, in

For what sort of a democrat is it who can be swayed by expensive publicity into voting against his convictions? Who falls for Douglas-Home's smile? Or for Wilson's thumbs-up? Or Grimond's lock of hair?

Only the politically ignorant will be impressed by such things. And since the Labour Party, like all the other capitalist parties, exploits political ignorance, it can hardly complain if the person who blindly voted Labour yesterday just as blindly votes Tory tomorrow. It cannot even complain when the same person follows the racist or some other demagogue and blindly votes to abolish what little democracy he has—and abolish, perhaps, the Labour Party along with it.

Capitalism itself rests upon ignorance, and its political parties, with their symbols and slogans, their banners and big drums, are all up to their necks in it. The mass of the people are taken in by the ballyhoo. They support the system of private property for the flimsiest of reasons and never seriously consider the proposition that there is a better way of running the world. As long as such ideas keep their grip, the world will remain in confusion. Apart from anything else, democracy will always be unsafe.

Both Labour and Conservative parties support this chaos of ignorance. Beside that momentous fact, what does it really matter which has the bigger posters, or the more press advertisements, or bangs the bigger drum?

IVAN

the name of their 350,000 members, say that trading stamps are against the interests of shops and stores, employees and consumers and that in the end the nation (by which they mean you and me) will bear the added burden of the cost of the stamps and gifts and the labour involved in producing and checking them.

Mr. Garfield Weston, for his part, protests that he would not do anything which was against the public interest and so is determined to carry on his sales drive with what he hopes will be the help of the stamps.

The printing and distribution of hundreds of thousands of gift catalogues alone costs at least £2 million; it is this sort of cost which Lord Sainsbury says will be passed on to the customer. *The Progressive Grocer Magazine* figures that trading stamps amount to fourteen per cent. of a retailer's operating costs and that he has to take this into account when setting his prices.

Frank I. Chaviat in his book *Supermarkets*, published in 1961, writes:—

"Selling Operations". Stamps are generally at the rate of one stamp for



each 10 cent purchase. For a supermarket to use this promotional tool successfully certain prerequisites must be met.

1. The (user) shop should be part of a group of different stores reasonably close to each other geographically. All should handle the same stamp with the super or a departmental store as the centre of influence.

2. Stamps are promotional: customers must be encouraged to save them and associate the stamps with that particular store.

3. Stamps must obtain and hold additional volume, while the volume increase varies; at least 10% increase in sales is needed to break even on the stamp cost.

4. The super must be able to handle added volume without materially increasing the overheads.

5. Stamps are not a panacea for supers whose quality and type of service are inferior to those offered by competitors.

6. Stamps do not permit much if any, independence in pricing.

Now it is obvious that the retailers who have taken up the stamps have not done so, so that they can give the housewife a brand new set of saucepans or any of the other "gifts." They hope and expect to increase their profits through the stamps and this need not come about by a simple rise in their prices. What they say they are aiming at is to increase their turnover and by this means to increase their profit. One of the stamp companies' press adverts claims that, in retaliation, some anti-stamp retailers have had to cut prices and that therefore the ultimate winner in the struggle is the consumer. In this sort of advert it is always the

consumer—and never the shareholder—who wins.

In fact, trading stamps, like the checks, coupons, premiums, samples, contests which have all been well tried in the past are part of the jungle of capitalism's competition. And competition will only bring prices down when there is an overall excess of the supply of a commodity over the demand for it. The fierce competition between the grocery retailers did not, for example, prevent the increase in the price of sugar last year.

The process of profit making is basically quite simple. The capitalist class, who own the places and the materials which go to produce and distribute wealth employ the working class. The labour of the working class produces the wealth; it builds the shops, produces the groceries, transports them. The workers serve in the shops, they take the cash at the counters. In this process they are exploited simply because, in terms of a commodity's value, they contribute more than they get back in wages. When their labour is done the commodity they have made or handled has a higher value than it had before. It is from this higher value that the employer—the industrialist, the retailer perhaps—gets his profit.

This profit often has to be shared with other capitalist concerns—with advertising agencies, insurance companies, banks, landlords. And sometimes with a "gimmick" concern like the trading stamp companies. In the competitive rat race the capitalists get headaches, and worse, in trying to outwit and outsell each other. Some retailers may try simple low prices

—like Sainsbury's and Boots. Others may fall for the wiles of the stamp trading companies. In this they are creaming off some of their profit, sometimes in the hope of making a larger overall profit—and sometimes merely to survive.

The working class are as passionately divided in this struggle as are the competing retailers. Some of them like the stamps—they like sticking them in, they get a kick out of their "free gift." Other workers think that the stamps are a dishonest gimmick. Yet if they will all take a deep breath and have a good think about it, what would they find? Why, that whether they collect stamps or not, and whether prices go up or down, they still only just manage to get by on their wage. When they have paid the landlord and the grocer and the H.P. man, when they have put a bit by for their holiday, and when they have paid for all the other necessities of life, there is precious little left.

As long as the working class are deluded by the gimmicks of capitalism—in all their many shapes and sorts—there will be no end to them. Perhaps some enterprising firm will try white balloons next. For saving so many white balloons you can get so many black stamps which you can exchange for so many pink discs which you can swap for . . . and so on, and so on, until they get wise to it, and it dawns on them that a better, saner way of making and distributing humanity's wealth is so that it is strictly for use instead of for sale and letting all human beings have free access to it.

J. McG.

## 1964 Electoral Campaign

VERY URGENT. We wish to contest as many constituencies as we can in the next General Election. It is our hope to put at least three candidates in the field and a deposit of £150 has to be put up for each. We therefore need £450 for this alone in the next few weeks in order to be assured that, if an election takes place early this year, this sum will be in hand. In addition, we need at least another £350 to cover the cost of printing, hall hire and so on. Thus, in all, we need not less than £800. Will all those who support us and wish us well, please make a tangible gesture of such support by sending quickly as large a sum as they can to the Party Treasurer, E. Lake, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4, clearly stating that the contributions are for the Parliamentary Fund.

## The passing show

### Competitive Friendship

It's a competitive system all right. Competition colours the whole of our lives and dominates our actions. It is praised and advocated as a worthy thing by all the capitalist parties, some more than others, of course, although none of them is so enthusiastic about it when their ruling class is in the weaker competitive position. But still, there is nothing much they can do about it but accept the basic proposition of competition. It is an accomplished fact of capitalism. And because of this, it often makes a mockery of friendship and subjects the most personal relationships to intolerable strain.

In the wider international political field, too, no alliance (or "friendship" to use a statesmen's euphemism) is free from its buffetings. Indeed, even while swearing eternal brotherhood and clasping hands across the conference table, the politicians must always keep a sharpened knife to use against their former allies, should the interests of their ruling class so demand at any time. History—particularly in recent years—is full of such examples. Was it not Stalin, for instance, who signed a non-aggression and friendship pact with Hitler after having moved his forces half way across Poland to meet the advancing Nazi armies? Both men must have known at the time how worthless such a pact was, but it suited their interests to sign it. And less than two years later they were at war.

One piece of "non-aggression" was dead and another was born. Russia became the ally of Britain and U.S.A., once again amidst the toasts, the backslapping, and vows of everlasting friendship. Only since the war has some of the truth trickled out concerning the intrigue and doublecrossing that went on. We know that the first atomic bomb was dropped not to end the war—it could have been ended some months before on the Allies' terms—but to demonstrate America's nuclear might and as a diplomatic trump card to be played at later conferences with the Soviets. Was it not Field Marshal Montgomery who, in the closing stages of the European war, wanted to race on to Berlin, not primarily to defeat the Nazis, but to forestall Russian occupation of the city?

Since those days, all sorts of reshufflings have taken place and nobody can guess what new line-ups will emerge even in the near future. Which brings us back to our initial point. The more farsighted capitalist politician never assumes permanency of any alliance. He must be prepared to tear up treaties, stab ruth-

lessly in the back where necessary, and be in opposition to those with whom perhaps only yesterday he was wining and dining. In fact, even while the alliance is still in force, he must try and perceive future trends and warn his "friends" not to tread on his toes in any future bargaining session.

Stripped of any verbal niceties, this was the very point made by Prime Minister Douglas-Home when addressing Conservatives at Bury last month. Britain must not abandon nuclear weapons, he said, because she would lose her place at the top table when such matters were discussed between East and West. He went on:—

I want to make it quite clear that I am not going to get out of that chair and I will not see it empty. France, when she has a nuclear arm will be there. She is our close and valued ally. So, too, will China, if and when she has a nuclear bomb. But they will not, if I have anything to do with it, supplant Britain. If, as seems certain, they are to become nuclear powers it is more vital than ever that Britain should be at the centre where matters of war and peace hang in the balance.

No doubt the Bury Conservatives did not disagree with Sir Alec's words. It is a fair bet that a Liberal or Labour audience would also be ready to echo their basic sentiment of pushing their masters' interests at the conference table. In fact it will be interesting to compare Mr. Wilson's public statements on such matters (should he become P.M.) with those of Douglas-Home. There won't be much to choose between them. The same old game in fact, and bang up to date.

### Scramble for Oil

An important background to the bloody struggle between the Algerian Nationalists and the French, was the discovery of oil and other minerals in the Sahara. Had it not been for this, the area would probably have been given its independence a long time before. As it was, huge sums of money were poured into its development and an army of half a million soldiers was tied down in trying to hold it for the French capitalist class.

There is news now that oil and gas may be found in large quantities under the North Sea, and it looks as if a new and bitter struggle will be focused here in the very near future. This is what is behind the rather hurried ratification by various governments of the Continental Shelf Convention, which divides the shelf between the states for exploration and exploitation. According to Labour M.P.

Sir Frank Soskice, no less than eighteen countries are carrying out borings and oil companies have been prospecting there for two years, so there is a strong chance of new supplies being found.

But as work proceeds, so the rumblings of discord grow louder and already the West German government have issued a "hands off" warning to foreign companies. When the Continental Shelf Convention comes into force, they will no doubt assert their legal right to push the others out, but by then there will be American Overseas Petroleum Ltd. drilling in the area, as well as those already there. So keep your eye on the North Sea. There may be two big explosions there shortly, the first when the gas and oil come up, the second when they all start squabbling over who is to get the lion's share of it. But whoever gets it, workers will not. Just another example of that "good healthy competition" we were discussing just now.

### M.I. Madness

That surely must have been a nightmare on the M.1 motorway during that foggy night of January 21st when crash after crash occurred, and altogether some two hundred vehicles were involved. It seems that the drivers simply refused to obey common sense rules, not only attempting to overtake, but doing so in some cases at speeds upwards of sixty m.p.h.

Well might Mr. Marples lash out at them in the Commons two days later. Well might he express horror "at this further series of multiple accidents." It was an easy matter for him to lay the blame fairly and squarely where it belonged—on the shoulders of the foolish motorists who travelled too fast and too close to the vehicles ahead of them for safety. Indeed, reading reports of the minister's statement, it is difficult to escape the impression that this was not just an attack but a counter attack. He has come in for some pretty hefty knocks from the "Marples Must Go" faction, but here was one time when he could throw their words back in their faces. His position was unassailable, and opposition criticisms fizzled out.

As far as he went, Mr. Marples was right, of course. But only as far as he went. He seemed to forget that the whole idea behind the construction of the M.1 and other motorways was not just to relieve congestion and get traffic moving,

[continued bottom next page]

## ANNUAL CONFERENCE EASTER 1964

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, WC1

Friday March 27th 11am - 1pm, 2 - 6pm

Saturday March 28th 2.30pm - 6pm

Sunday March 29th 11am - 1pm, 2 - 6pm

### SOCIAL & DANCE

Saturday March 28th 7.30 - 11pm (Tickets 3/6)

## Conference Rally, Sunday March 29th 7.30pm SOCIALISM AND LABOUR'S NUCLEAR POLICY



# Who cares about steel nationalisation?

SOME of the steel companies are spending large sums of money telling us why the steel industry should not be re-nationalised and why therefore electors should not vote for the Labour Party. Large and costly space has been taken in national newspapers to put the views of the Chairmen of Stewarts & Lloyds and the Steel Company of Wales.

What the readers of the statements think of them we do not know, but it would be difficult to find more tedious, trivial and irrelevant utterances, of no concern to the workers in the steel industry or any other and not really of any significance to most of the investors.

The steel company's statements against nationalisation will not pass unchallenged and we may expect a cloud of equally tedious, trivial and irrelevant utterances from the Labour Party in support of nationalisation. But what does it matter either way to the mass of the population in this or any other country? What difference does it make in essentials whether they work for a company, a public board, or a government department? Whichever way it goes the workers will be paid as little as their employer can get them to take, and the policy of the employer, or board of directors running an industry, will in either event be to make profit.

Nationalisation can be of importance to the small group company directors who will lose their directorship without necessarily being given jobs on the nationalisation boards, but for the shareholders it is no more than changing a somewhat larger but not guaranteed income from stocks and shares in a company into a somewhat less but guaranteed income from government securities.

Of course, there is the old myth of high-principled investors who "would rather die" than countenance nationalisation, but it looks rather silly against the fact that the national debt (now £30,000 million and paying out interest of £600 million a year) along with other functions, is used by the government to finance the nationalised industries.

What does it matter to investors whether they draw dividends directly from a company, or lend money to the government, at interest, for the government in its turn to lend it to the nationalised boards at interest? And what difference does it make to the workers whether they are exploited by a com-

pany or by a board for this purpose?

Half a century ago, when argument about nationalisation was really fierce, there was a reason. It was that nationalisation was being advocated by people who thought it could be used as the first stage towards ending capitalism and introducing Socialism, and the property owners feared it for the same reason that they feared Socialism.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain at the time rejected the idea that nationalisation was a step towards Socialism, and foretold the disrepute into which it has now fallen. When therefore the steel companies and the Labour Party engage in wordy battle over it they are both beating the air: the companies pretending to believe that behind nationalisation stands a Labour Party intention to introduce Socialism and an equally false Labour Party pretence that it is so.

When the two sides talk of efficiency, service to the public, national interests, low prices, etc., etc., it is entirely beside the point as far as nationalisation is concerned. Everything that is complained about the nationalised industries would apply equally if they had not been nationalised. Does anyone suppose that if the Railways were still run by half a dozen private companies they would have escaped the troubles resulting from road competition? Or does anyone now imagine that the need for the workers to strike in self-defence from time to time is any less under a board than under a company?

Broadly speaking, nationalisation in this country is a fading issue because it not only solves no problem of the working class (it never did or could have done), but it now rarely serves any purpose to the capitalists either. They no longer think of nationalisation as a means of controlling particular monopolies, in the interest of capitalism as a whole, and in face of experience they no longer believe that nationalised industries and services are likely to be any more efficient or cheap than those not nationalised.

One last word, though it will probably fall on deaf ears. Will Mr. Stewart and his colleagues of Stewarts & Lloyds accept our positive assurance that nationalisation is not Socialism and has nothing to do with Socialism? After all, we are out for Socialism and have never supported nationalisation.

H. O.

## THE PASSING SHOW Continued

but to get it moving *quickly*. They were built for fast traffic; that is why the pedestrian and the push cyclist are banned and there is no speed limit. If this fosters an attitude of recklessness at times bordering on the maniacal, it is a bit late in the day to complain.

Incidentally, contrary to claims made when it was opened, the findings of Pro-

fessor W. Gissane and Dr. J. Bull after a three-year study of deaths on the M.1 are that:—

... the risk of fatal accidents to car occupants and perhaps to lorry drivers, per vehicle mile travelled, is appreciably higher than on other types of road. ...

Speed is the order of the day in capitalist society. Speed with its handmaidens of greater nervous strain, injury and often death. It is against this sort of background that we must view the pile ups on the M.1 and the truly frightening casualty list on the roads in general (almost 7,000 deaths in 1961). This is what Mr. Marples may moan about, but is largely powerless to prevent. This is capitalism—on the move.

E. T. C.

## The WESTERN SOCIALIST

Journal for Socialism  
in the  
U.S.A and Canada

6d monthly

## Companion Parties

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich,  
N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291  
P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone,  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

# The little capitalist

CAPITALIST society is divided into two classes, a small minority owning the means of life (factories, land, etc.) and the vast majority owning little or nothing and consequently being compelled to hire themselves out to the owning class in order to obtain their means of existence. And the only sensible definition of this latter working class is that those who have no choice but to work for their living belong to it. Roughly speaking, in a modern capitalist country such as Britain about 90 per cent. of the population belong to the propertyless working class and the remainder constitute the capitalist class.

Now the above remarks are so obvious as to be truisms and one would think that there would be no need to re-iterate them to people who live all their lives in capitalist society. Nevertheless, there has always been a propensity among workers to confuse the issue (and themselves) by contending that they do not belong to the working class but to something that they are pleased to call the middle class. This attitude is prevalent among so-called white-collar workers, bank clerks, office staff and the like. These people, however, are suffering from self-delusion. The fact that they work for wages or salaries and can be sacked like any other workers if it is no longer profitable for their employers to use their services, should be proof enough for anyone that they fall in with our definition of the working class—that they must work for their living or they cannot live at all.

Strangely enough, however, many workers, instead of accepting this obvious division of society into two classes, have been more concerned to blur the division with border-line cases. One typical example that is often brought up is that of the small shopkeeper. Here, we are told, is a class of people many of whom have by dint of industry and thrift accumulated sufficient capital to enable them to climb out of the ranks of the working class to that happy state where they no longer work for an employer and are masters of their own fate. What substance is there in this story?

Let us consider a fairly typical—and true—example. This man had for over 20 years been a worker in the packaging industry, latterly as a departmental foreman. Like so many similar workers he had long dreamed of achieving his independence and by dint of much self-denial had saved over the years the not inconsiderable amount of £2,000, a sum far beyond the reach of most workers. In due course he was able to use this sum as a deposit to buy the lease and goodwill of his dream business—a village store in the Home Counties. The balance of the purchase price (a further £3,000) was borrowed from a finance company who took a mortgage on the business as security. The rest of the story can be quickly told. He gave up his job and his home and moved into the shop with his family. For two years he (and his wife who had previously not been working plus help in their spare time from his two children at school) worked harder than he had ever done before. Customers appeared to be there in plenty and the shop was always busy, but somehow the takings and the profits always seemed to fall a little bit below what had been hoped for. The number of customers was as great as expected but their purchases were a little disappointing. One of the main reasons, it transpired, was that although there was no cut-price multiple store in the village (which was not big enough to attract one; if one had opened, it would have meant a quicker death for him) there were two in the nearby town and people were getting a fair amount of week-end supplies from there. If the savings had been large enough to have paid the entire

purchase price the venture would have been able to keep afloat, but as things were the mortgage repayments proved just that bit too high and he got further and further behind. The mortgage company acted with reasonable forbearance, but eventually the predestined end arrived and he was compelled to sell at the best price he could get in order to meet his obligations. Eventually, when he had given up the struggle and reckoned what he had lost in money and legal expenses, he found himself having to look for a new home and job with about £500 of his cash remaining. But, as he said, it could have been worse.

For the whole of the period, he confided, he had gone to bed worrying about money; when eventually he had managed to fall asleep he had dreamt about money; and when he woke up in the morning his first thought was, once again, money. During the day he and his wife had worked themselves to a standstill trying to economise on hired labour (but there was a limit to that because if customers were kept waiting too long they walked out). He would not allow an assistant to cut the bacon because he found there was waste at the end; only he could be trusted to cut it right out. Whenever possible, one of two fridges would be switched off to save coppers on the current. The whole of his existence was geared to skimping and scraping over pennies. This was the price of independence. Clearly it was not worth it.

And, of course, even the delusion of independence soon wore off. True there was no employer to warn him of impending dismissal if his work did not suit or his face did not fit. But every month he had to find the money to pay his bills for bread, cigarettes and detergents, otherwise the supplies would be cut off and the business closed (which would have meant the loss of the entire capital paid for the goodwill of the business). It did not take him long to realise that he had swapped one employer for a dozen. He was now acting as local distributor for the big firms who manufactured the goods sold in his shop. And he was doing this work at a rate per hour and with an expenditure of work and worry that would have been quite unthinkable when he was an ordinary employee. How could he be no longer a worker when he was working harder than ever? And what a joke it was that he was providing the big food and tobacco combines with a quality of labour which they could not possibly get from their direct employees not many of whom would lie awake at night worrying if the sales of *Omo* or *Woodbines* were falling below target.

Of course, it is true that most small shopkeepers seem to keep going; not all are forced out of the fight. Nevertheless, it is true that the heyday of the corner shop is over. The struggle with the giant multiple is too unequal and the little man finds the competition increasingly overpowering. Board of Trade figures show that a constant stream of grocers, greengrocers and the like are being forced out of the rat-race. And of those who remain, how many could honestly say that they are not really workers? If they counted the hours that they and their wives put in to the business they would possibly find that they were in reality not only workers but underpaid ones into the bargain. In their way they and their families put in their unpaid labour, the small shopkeepers are the peasants of our times. And like the peasants they are doomed to struggle until the establishment of a new economic order removes the monetary system and the need to worry about money.

L. E. WEIDBERG.







## BOOKS ON THE GREAT WAR AND THE U.S.A.

### The First World War

*An Illustrated History by A. J. P. Taylor  
Hamish Hamilton*

Perhaps Mr. Taylor is, in the strict sense of the word, our most eminent modern historian. Yet whatever a man's knowledge, nobody should be deluded into believing that his conclusions are unassailable.

Consider, for example, Mr. Taylor's opinion on the cause of the First World War:

Men are reluctant to believe that great events have small causes. Therefore, once the Great War started, they were convinced that it must be the outcome of profound forces. It is hard to discover these when we examine the details. Nowhere was there conscious determination to provoke a war. Statesmen miscalculated. They used the instruments of bluff and threat which had proved effective on previous occasions. This time things went wrong. The deterrent on which they relied failed to deter; the statesmen became the prisoners of their own weapons. The great armies, accumulated to provide security and preserve the peace, carried the nations to war by their own weight.

and

The First World War had begun—imposed on the statesmen of Europe by railway timetables. It was an unexpected climax to the railway age.

Now this may appeal to those who hold the "accidental" theory of history.

### essential reading

The Case for Socialism	1/-
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

But that theory does little more than spell out the process of events; it tells us nothing about the causes of those events nor does it illuminate the larger canvas of human history in all its social phases. Like the 1914/18 soldiers' song, it says, in effect, that we are here because we are here because. . . .

The theory that the First World War was an avoidable accident ignores the previous history of Europe. It ignores the outcome of the Franco-Prussian War, the German ambitions in Africa and the Middle East and the threat which an expanding German capitalism represented to the established European powers. It ignores, even, the very fact that nobody tries to ignore—the massive build up of military strength on the Continent before 1914 and it certainly tells us nothing about the reasons for that build up.

Mr. Taylor, in truth, cannot ignore this fact:—

The German general staff did not believe that they could conquer decisively if they had to fight at full strength on two fronts, against both France and Russia at once. Therefore they had long planned, ever since 1892, to put practically all their armed weight in the west and to knock out France before the slow machine of Russian mobilization could lumber into action.

And if there is a contradiction in a theory which says that a war can break out by accident, although one power has planned for over twenty years to knock out another—well, that is Mr. Taylor's contradiction, not ours. We know how fallible the experts can be.

Apart from this, Mr. Taylor is fashionably harsh upon the generals (one picture of Sir John French, in morning coat and top hat hurrying through a crowd, describes the B.E.F. commander as "... in training for the retreat from Mons.") and favourable to Lloyd George. The photographs are nothing less than brilliant; each one loaded with the atmosphere of its time. Here are pain and courage, pathos and provocation. Look at these pictures again and again—there seems to be something fresh there every time.

Those from the fighting itself are positively horrific—a legless French soldier, some Tommies who have been blinded in a gas attack and stand dumbly in line, each man guiding himself by his hand on the shoulder in front. The pictures from the home front are no less impressive. The shot of the Eton schoolboys on their way to dig over some plot shows how timeless are the fashions and the demeanour of our master class. These

boys could have been photographed yesterday—unlike the working class lads who, on page 21, are cheering the volunteers outside a recruiting station.

And the pictures are supported with biting captions.

The First World War released a flood of human suffering such as few had foretold in 1914. It slashed a great gap into a hopeful generation and it wrecked Europe's morale. Yet in 1939 they were ready to go into it again, ready with the uniforms and the flags and the claptrap about the glory of war.

Let those workers who urge their fellows into uniform study the photographs in this book. Let them smell the mud and the cordite, feel the tight fear of men about to go over the top, share the endurance of a civilian population under bombardment. And let them see, almost at first hand, the pompous cynicism of the generals and the statesmen—the leaders who are at their most beloved and trusted when the world is at its deepest in agonised confusion.

IVAN

### The Other America

*Michael Harrington, Penguin, 3s. 6d.*

There is a pretty little myth that America is the land of milk and honey and the place where everyone, but everyone has his own car and lives in ease and comfort. It is difficult to escape the picture handed down to us by Hollywood that spacious houses and gracious living are the norm, perhaps because like so many stories from across the Atlantic, it is put over in such a big way. But it is false, nonetheless.

This much we can learn from Michael Harrington, who tells us in his book *The Other America* (Penguin Special, 3s. 6d.) that there are 40-50 million people in U.S.A. struggling along in conditions of direst poverty. It is no good trying to laugh this one off as just another Yankee story, because Mr. Harrington supports his claim with a wealth of data from government sources. Yet such is the competence of his style, that he manages to bring home to us in a frighteningly personal manner the human tragedy of these "invisible millions" as he calls them. Invisible, that is, to the superficial observer who is not prepared to probe the thin crust of surface appearances, and understand that poverty reaches much deeper than the shirt on your back. The author is careful to stress this very point early on, when he says:—

In Detroit the existence of social classes became much more difficult to discern the day the companies put lockers in the plants. From that moment on, one did not see men in work clothes on the way to the factory, but citizens in slacks and white shirts. This process has been magnified with the poor throughout the country. There are tens of thousands of Americans in the big cities who are wearing shoes, perhaps even a stylishly cut suit or dress, and yet are hungry.

Something else to note about this poverty is its catholic nature. Whites may despise Negroes, and Negroes in their turn spurn Puerto Ricans, and so on, but whether they like it or not, they are all in the same boat. Some may be affected worse than others, like the eight million aged poor, but the conditions of even the best off are deplorably low by any standards. They are all of them members of the working class—something which hardly needs stressing and which runs like a thread through the whole de-

pressing picture.

We do not hear the argument so often nowadays that the poor are that way because they are lazy and enjoy living on the dole. Nevertheless, it seems to be sufficiently prevalent still in America for the author to deal with it at some length and to demolish it with withering, scornful logic. The crux of his reply is that the poor made the fatal error of being born to the wrong parents:—

Once that mistake has been made, they could have been paragons of will and morality, but most of them would never have had a chance to get out of the other America.

All sorts of notions get a knock on the head in this book. It is not so much that Mr. Harrington always makes strenuous efforts to demolish them, but that they just fall down under the weight of the evidence which he gives. One idea in particular is that automation and industrial expansion necessarily mean a better

life for all. In fact, as he points out, some better paid workers (the middle class he calls them) have no doubt been able to improve their lot, but those lower down the scale, and even some of those further up the scale, have suffered a drop in their standards. For many this has meant a tumble into the ranks of the intensely poor.

Mr. Harrington is not a Socialist; his "solution" to the problem is "massive government action," although he does not go into details and the futility of such a policy should be apparent from the rest of his book. Still, we will forgive him this because in all other respects he is clearly master of his subject and constantly reminds us of the most appalling thing about poverty. That is, the poverty which it begets in every other direction so that the whole of our lives become permeated with its loathsome culture.

Read this book. It is truly a devastating condemnation of Capitalism.

E. T. C.

## Branch news and meetings

### CONFERENCE RALLY

Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq. WC1  
Sunday, March 29th, 7 pm

### HEAD OFFICE MEETINGS

52 Clapham High St, London, SW4  
Sundays, 8 pm

### March 1st

**CRIME AND CAPITALISM**  
Speaker: H. Baldwin

### March 8th

**INDIA TODAY**  
Speaker: Michael

### March 15th

**THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**  
Speaker: J. D'Arcy

### March 22nd

**THE LABOUR MOVEMENT**  
R. Macdowell

### WEST LONDON

Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall,  
Hammersmith, W6

### Friday, 6th March, 8 pm

**THE GENERAL STRIKE**  
Speaker: W. Waters

### ISLINGTON

Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Rd, N7  
(near Finsbury Park Tube)

### Thursday, 19th March, 8 pm

**THE RUBBER INDUSTRY**  
Speaker: Joe Carter

### PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
(near Marylebone Road and Tube)  
Wednesdays 8.30 pm

### March 4th

**LONDON TRANSPORT STORY**  
Speaker: W. Waters

### WEMBLEY

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Harrow Road, Wembley

### Monday, 9th March 8 pm

**WILLIAM MORRIS and the  
Socialist Movement Today**  
Speaker: C. Devereaux

### DEBATE

**SPGB v LABOUR PARTY**  
Hammersmith Town Hall

Wednesday, 18th March, 7.30 pm

### WELWYN GARDEN CITY

The Community Centre (Room 3)  
Mill Green Road

### Thursday, 12th March, 7.30 pm

**THE BUCHANAN REPORT**  
Traffic in Town

Speaker: K. Knight

For full details see page 52

### GLASGOW MEETINGS

Woodside Central Halls, Glenfarg St.  
Sundays, 7.30 pm

### BROMLEY MEETING

Public Library, High Street  
For full details see page 52

Many meetings are arranged for this month (details are given in this issue) members and friends are urged to give all their support, much work is needed in the preparation of meetings and it behoves on us who are not directly connected with the organising to attend these meetings.

**Annual Conference** is being held at Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London, W.C.1., on Friday, Saturday and Sunday, March 27th, 28th and 29th. Will all provincial branches who need accommodation for their delegates please contact Head office as soon as possible in order that arrangements can be made.

**Swansea Branch** is looking forward to the General Election, and hopes to take good advantage from it. Members are very active; a recent meeting addressed by Harold Wilson, the Labour leader, was attended by Party members. Leaflets introducing the SPGB were given out, the Socialist Standard distributed and our case put to passers by. Membership is building up and it is hoped soon to be able to contest a Municipal election. Support in the Party case appears to be quite strong in the area. Swansea branch is confident that it can greatly extend socialist propaganda in the area.

A reminder. Meeting at Bromley Library, (Lecture Room) High Street, on Wages and Inflation, Friday, March 20th, 8 pm Debate: SPGB v Labour Party. Hammersmith Town Hall, Wednesday, March 18th at 7.30 pm.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son, Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London E.C.1.



# Our General Election Campaign

Readers of the February issue of the Socialist Standard will be aware of the Party's preliminary activities for the General Election. Progress has been made and in Bromley and Glasgow comrades are concentrating their work so that they will reap maximum results when the time arrives.

In Bromley, which is the constituency near to Lewisham, it is the Lewisham Branch which is doing the spade work in preparation. The representative of the Party to stand as the Parliamentary candidate is Comrade E. Grant and the Election agent is Comrade I. Robertson. Much canvassing has been done and meetings held. On Thursday, March 20th at Bromley Library Lecture room, High Street, Bromley at 8 p.m. a public meeting is being held the title being "Wages and Inflation".

In Glasgow, the Branch members are well prepared for the General Election, no matter when it occurs. Since October they have been canvassing the SOCIALIST STANDARD around the working class in the Woodside constituency. At the moment they are concentrating their literature selling in the North Kelvin Ward (which forms a part of the Woodside constituency) in preparation for Glasgow Municipal elections in May.

This year will be the first time that the Socialist Party has ever contested two wards in a local Glasgow election. North Kelvin Ward (for the third time) and for the first time the Kightwood Ward. Literature sales in both wards have been encouraging and the intensified effort of four nights each week devoted to selling the STANDARD in these two wards should make the case for Socialism extremely well known.

Indoor meetings have continued since October in the Woodside Halls and will carry on until April. The Glasgow Branch urges all members and sympathisers to assist them. There is plenty of work to be done. Your assistance, both physical and financial is needed. How about it Comrades? The Party representative for the Woodside constituency is Comrade R. Vallar and the Election Agent is Comrade A. Webster.

Two of the essentials to help our campaigns: all party members available are urgently required to work with the local branches in the two areas now, and as much money as can be spared by members and sympathisers should be sent at once to the Parliamentary Fund. Without the money the necessary work will be seriously handicapped. So please help all you can.

## BROMLEY

Candidate: E. Grant

Agent: I. Robertson

Canvassing every Sunday, meet Bromley Library, High St., at 11a.m.

(Trains: Victoria to Bromley South, London Bridge to Bromley North. Buses: 47, 36, 94).

All further details contact I. Robertson — phone: Farnborough 51719

Meetings Bromley Library, High Street at 8p.m.

Friday March 20th  
**WAGES AND INFLATION**  
Speaker: E. Hardy

Friday April 24th  
**THE HOUSING PROBLEM**  
Speaker: J. D'Arcy

Friday May 22nd  
**AN OPEN CHALLENGE TO ALL PARTIES TO STATE THEIR CASE AGAINST SOCIALISM**

"The Socialist Party of Gt. Britain will be contesting Bromley (London) and Woodside (Glasgow) in the forth-coming General Election."

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

**Your help is required, now!**  
**contact Lewisham and Glasgow Branches for information.**

Contribute generously to the Parliamentary Fund SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4.

## WOODSIDE

Candidate: R. Vallar

Agent: G. Vanni

For Canvassing details contact A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.

Meetings every Sunday at Woodside Central Hall, Glenfarg Street at 7.30 p.m.

### "SOCIALIST SEARCHLIGHT"

March 1st  
**IS POLITICS A RACKET?**  
Speaker: A. Shaw

March 8th  
**AUTOMATION—BOON OR CURSE**  
Speaker: R. Russell

March 15th  
**THE SHADOW OF WAR**  
Speaker: J. Higgins

March 22nd  
**MADHOUSE OF CAPITALISM**  
Speaker: D. Donaldson

March 29th  
**SEX, SOCIETY & CAPITALISM**  
Speaker: T. Mulheron



Official Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland

# Socialist Standard

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## THE RIGHT TO STRIKE

Under capitalism workers depend on wages to live. Trade Unions exist to bargain with the capitalist class for the highest possible wage, and the strike is the main weapon they can use. The strike weapon is essential; its loss would be serious for the working class in its every day struggles over wages and conditions.

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- 65 A LABOUR LEADER LOOKS BACK

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## Socialist Party

OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 9th and 23rd April 8 pm: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, S.W.2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm: 3rd April at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. 8EX 1950) and 17th April at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottlingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING**, See WEST LONDON.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, N.W.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursday 9th and 23rd April 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts: (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (8th April) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W.11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Every 2 weeks (Mondays 6th and 20th April) 8 pm, 17 Catswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (6th and 20th April) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (9th and 23rd April) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th and 24th April) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Meeting at Castle Restaurant, Dock Street, Newport. (Details advertised in South Wales Argus.) Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neusd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meeting from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly. Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

## CORRECTION TO MARCH 'STANDARD'

In "The passing show" we stated in error that the non-aggression pact between Germany and Russia was signed after their respective armies had occupied Poland in 1939. In

fact: the pact was signed on 23rd August, 1939, the German armies invaded Poland on 1st September, the Russian Armies invaded Poland on the 17th September.

April 1964

Vol 60 No 716

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland



SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

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Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting April 26th.

## NEWS IN REVIEW

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# The right to strike

The recent decision of the House of Lords in the case of *Rookes v. Barnard* has again brought the question of strikers and the law into the limelight. The effect of the decision is that where a trade union has signed a contract not to strike or to give notice before striking, anyone harmed by a breach of this contract can bring a civil action for damage against those responsible.

This interpretation of the Trade Disputes Act, 1906, will virtually ban unofficial wild-cat strikes though it will not affect official strikes such as the recent AEU strike in Port Talbot. However, since many of the strikes which take place today are unofficial this decision represents a considerable threat to the right to strike.

In Britain both employers and trade unions have been eager to keep the law out of industrial disputes. Even so there have in recent times been periods when official strikes were illegal. The war-time Order 1305 which was not withdrawn until August, 1951, outlawed strikes and—of course—lockouts. It is generally acknowledged that this hampered attempts to resist the Labour Government's "wage freeze" and "wage restraint"—though it was pressure from the unions which led to the Order being withdrawn. Thus, for nearly the whole period of the last Labour Government even official strikes were illegal. This was strikingly illustrated when in 1951 Hartley Shawcross, the Labour Attorney General, tried unsuccessfully to convict the leaders of a dock strike.

Under Capitalism, workers depend on their wages for a living. They live by selling their labour-power. Like all sellers, workers seek the highest possible price. To this end trade unions were formed to bargain with the capitalists. This bargaining *must* go on as long as labour-power is bought and sold, as long as Capitalism lasts that is. The main weapon the trade unions have in these struggles over wages is the strike. This is a class weapon and its loss would seriously hamper the workers in their day-to-day struggles.

But trade union action, as Marx pointed out in *Value, Price and Profit*, has its limits. He wrote:

"... the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the material conditions and the social forms necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the conservative motto, 'A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!' they ought to inscribe on their banner their revolutionary watchword, 'Abolition of the wages system!'"

## DEBATE

Friday 8th May 8pm  
Bromley Library, Bromley High Street, Kent

## "WHICH WAY TO PEACE?" SPGB or INDEC

Both debators are  
prospective candidates  
for Bromley

For SPGB: E. Grant For INDEC: J. Haigh



## AT HOME

## The Labour Party and the Queen's Navee

Well, in the end Mr. Wilson was able to force the Prime Minister to withdraw his allegation that the Labour leader wanted to give the Royal Navy to the United Nations which presumably made somebody, somewhere, happy.

Mr. Wilson, we may assume, loves the Navy, which is natural enough because after all perhaps no part of the British armed forces has done so much to set wider still and wider bounds of the glorious British Empire on which, once, the sun never set.

Nor was it only in the House of Commons that the Labour Party were standing up for Jolly Jack Tar. The Tory government had hatched a wicked plot to abolish the name Admiralty and to substitute the name Navy Board which as everyone knows does not summon up the vision of a blue cocked hat half as well. The government put this plot into a Bill and they pushed it through the Commons but the House of Lords was a different matter.

The Tory peers woke up when they realised what the government was up to because they thought that this was mucking about with tradition (one of them spoke about "a religious intensity") and that when Jolly Jack Tar's head is stuffed full of a lot of nonsense about tradition he obeys his officers more readily and is keener to die for what he thinks is his country.

Labour peers were awake too. Lord Alexander said: "Admiralty is something a little more majestic, something which has left a lasting world impression" and Earl Atlee, waspish as ever, hoisted his own battle signal: "I believe in preserving things with great traditions."

Thus encouraged, the original Tory objector divided the House and Labour and Tory peers steamed in irresistible convoy into the same lobby to defeat the government by eight votes. The torpedoed government agreed to the amendment and the Commons, chastened by the Upper House's greater reverence for the traditions of British arms, relented too. We still, therefore, call it the Admiralty.

Any Jolly Jack Tar who in future may be blown up, or drowned, or otherwise killed, in the interests of the British ruling class can take consolation from the fact

that he dies under the organisation of something called the Admiralty and not something with a non-traditional name like the Navy Board and that this is all thanks to the united efforts of Tory peers and of Labour peers who, although they call themselves Socialists, were ready to fire a broadside for the glorious, blood-soaked traditions of the Queen's Navee.

## ABROAD

## Primaries in the States

Presidential primary elections, which were introduced into the United States about the turn of the century, were designed to prevent the big party machines foisting their own candidates onto the American electorate. The method of the elections varies widely from state to state but in all of them the voters get a chance to say, in one way or another, who they would like to see standing for President.

In fact, the men who eventually fight it out are usually those who would probably have been nominated if the primary elections had never been held. Although the candidates are formally picked at the party conventions, the men who do the picking in the smoke-filled rooms necessarily take the popular will into account, whether or not this has been sampled in the primaries.

Thus although Kennedy won the Democratic nomination in 1960 after fighting some classical political campaigns in primaries, in which he convinced his party that he was a vote winner, Stevenson got the nomination in 1952 without entering a single primary.

The conventions choose the man they think most likely to win the election. This year, it is as certain as anything can be that the Democrats will make a formality of confirming President Johnson as their man. For the Republicans, however, the choice is more complicated.

Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who flexed his political muscles in the last election when he virtually compelled Nixon to modify his platform, is a candidate who has lost some popular support because of his recent divorce—as if that affects his ability to run a great capitalist country. Senator Goldwater, who has expressed ideas so out of tune with the contemporary needs of American capitalism that it is hard to believe that if he gets the nomination he will not modify them, was strongly fancied until the

accession of Johnson rallied Democratic support in the South, where Goldwater was once reported to be making inroads.

Neither of these men, at the moment, seems likely to satisfy every Republican yearning for a candidate to take them on a glorious bandwagon to the White House next November. There are others waiting to take advantage of a possible deadlock: Governors Romney and Scranton, and plain Mr. Richard Nixon, who still sourly protests that he has had enough of electoral disappointment.

Whoever the two parties pick, it is sure that their running mates for the post of Vice-President will be a vote-catching compromise, in the same way that Johnson's Southern origin and mature political skill was designed to offset Kennedy's youthful, Northern "liberalism."

This is how the great American political parties, just like their counterparts over here, defer to the political ignorance of the working class voters—which is what they must do if they are to have a hope of winning. And what, in the end, comes out of it all?

On November 3rd, the American working class will go to the polls to decide who will run capitalism in their country over the next four years. The result will not appreciably alter the conditions of the millions who cast their vote. Like Peter Simple's Marshal Bolster, we can confidently say that whoever gets the most votes will win. But, unlike Bolster, we can also confidently say that whoever this is, it will not matter a damn.

## POLITICS

## Translation of Sir Alec

Like Bottom, Sir Alec Douglas-Home is translated—and sometimes he could almost be wearing an ass's head, to boot.

Before he became Prime Minister, Home's image was that of an amiable, unfussy, courteous aristocrat who took to politics only because of a desire to serve us of the lower orders by being one of our political, as well as one of our economic, masters.

For somebody who owns as much as Home does that must have been a pleasant pretension. But his promotion has changed all that. The courteous aristocrat is now trying to be the tricky, funny politician.

Home has grown famous for the facetious cracks with which he evades

Opposition questions in the House of Commons. (The *Daily Telegraph* reports these cracks as priceless gems of humour but surely even the Tories will grow tired of them?) And he has recently earned more infamy by his remarkably ill-judged attack on Harold Wilson over the latter's alleged desire to give away the Royal Navy and by his statement that when he was ready to debate Wilson on television he would "send for" the Labour leader.

This last crack, with its implication that politicians tell the TV men what to put on, and when, upset some sections of the press and within a couple of days of each other both *The Guardian* and the *Observer* had a go at Home, warning him that in his present vein he is more likely to lose votes than to win them.

Poor Sir Alec is only doing his best and perhaps he is pleasing the Tory faithful. Doubtless, if he thought for a moment that he was losing votes he would change his line overnight.

For like all capitalist politicians the Prime Minister must know that truth and consistency are not particularly important in the great vote hunt. It may be ironical that the leader of the Gentleman's Party, and the recent holder of an ancient title of chivalry, should descend to such methods but that, after all, is all part of the dirty game of politics.

And anyway it usually goes over with the voters. Bottom in his ass's head was irresistible to Titania after she had been dealt a drug. At times it seems that the

working class, infatuated as they are with their leaders, must themselves be under the influence of a love potion.

## BUSINESS

## Threat from Japan

Part of the official propaganda campaign during the last war was aimed at convincing us that the Japanese were a lot of little yellow monkeys who committed some fearful atrocities.

There was, of course, a lot of truth in the atrocity stories. But what the Allied propaganda did not publicise was the fact that the war was not being fought to stop the Japanese maltreating their prisoners.

Japan is one of the world's great trading nations, with an economy which must export to live. In this, she is similar to Great Britain; both countries in the past were driven by their economic needs into an imperialist policy. Both, too, in their adventures to find and to hold on to foreign markets, built up powerful armed forces.

When the last war started, Japan was a monster competitor in the Far East, such as Commodore Perry could not have dreamt he was unleashing when in 1853 he first tried to open the country as a market for American exports. It was to tame the monster which Perry had all unknowingly awoken that the last war in the Far East was fought.

Since 1945 the Japanese capitalists have been progressively recovering from their defeat; although in this nuclear age they are no longer a great military power, their trade offensives are as forceful as ever. Japan is the world's greatest shipbuilding nation. Its cheap cameras, transistor radios, motor cycles and so on flood into the markets of the world. It has beaten its rivals out of one market after another in the Far East. It dominates the economy of South East Asia, exports heavily to North America (\$1,750 million worth in 1963) and Europe (\$880 million), and is busily expanding into Africa (\$460 million).

Japan is an important trading partner to South Africa, with which she is currently running a trade deficit (1963 exports \$80 million, imports \$110 million). This has had an amusing political side-effect; rather than offend the Japanese trade representatives by subjecting them to the humiliations of racial discrimination, the South African government has decided that the Japanese are actually Europeans—which shows how flexible racial theories can become under the pressure of economic interests.

What all this adds up to is that Japan, despite her military defeat, is still a powerful competitor in world capitalism. At the moment the situation seems to be under control. But who, remembering Manchuria, and China, and Pearl Harbour and finally Hiroshima, would dare to say that it will remain so?

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD April 1914

## IT IS DIFFERENT IN THE USA

Father Bernard Vaughan has been through the United States on a tour. As is usual with people who pay flying visits to other countries, he has come back equipped with a complete knowledge of the conditions obtaining there, ranging from the hobble skirt to the delightful methods of the industrial system. He told his audience, when lecturing on his experiences at the Free Trade Hall, Manchester, recently, that he knew of no country in the world where a man could be more sure of a living wage for an honest day's work than the States. "I found in the States that the employers generally got into closer touch with their employees than anywhere else. They seem to 'pal' with their servants instead of patronising them. The employers consider their servants, they study them, they try to give them a co-partnership, a personal interest in their work. I was much

impressed by the relations between capital and labour. They are drawn closely together and those impersonal terms of industry have been exchanged for real personal relations."

Now that's refreshing! Ever since I heard this I have been disgusted with my little lot. Oh! why wasn't I born in America! I've had lots of bosses, but never one that I could "pal" with. Comrades in America, I envy you! I've read a lot about America, too, but never saw it in this light before. So far as my investigations into American industrial conditions go, the only "personal relations" in which the close "touch" is manifested I have been able to discover, are those in which the policeman's is used as the medium. It would be interesting to know what our fellow-workers in the U.S.A. think of Vaughan's analysis!



# Unbalanced exports and experts

ONE of the toughest problems which faced the Attlee government when it took over in 1945 was the deficit in Britain's balance of trade. The six years of war had cost this country a great deal, apart from the bloodshed and the suffering which the working class had endured. Britain's capitalist class had lost a lot of their overseas investments, they had been forced out of several spheres of influence and had seen many of their traditional markets fall under the sway of their wartime allies. The Imperial Preference system, by which they had once set so much store, had lost a lot of its power as a tight trading club.

As the world turned from the production of munitions, attention was focused upon the markets offered by the rebuilding of the countries which had suffered in the war. There was a frantic rush to get into these markets; almost anything could be sold there, provided it got there quickly. The Labour government launched its famous export drive, sending its Ministers around the country to draw homely analogies between the world market and Mrs. Smith's house-keeping, and sticking up its "Work Or Want" posters. The more we exported, and the less we imported, went the story, the better off we would be.

Some of this propaganda went home. Many workers actually worried about the trade gap and as each set of figures came out, showing how large the gap was, they sank into gloom. It was useless to tell them that the trade gap was a problem for the people who owned the goods which were going in and out of the country and that workers should concern themselves only with their own economic interests. They were convinced that the bigger the gap the more everyone would suffer and perhaps, as well, they thought that the "lousy foreigners" were getting one over on poor, simple, honest John Bull. Amid the gloom, their blood boiled.

The Tories, of course, made a lot of hay while this particular sun shone. The trade gap, they said, was caused by the amateurish methods of the Labour government; there were too many controls, too much nationalisation, it was all something to do with Socialism. Just let a businessman's government take over and in no time at all the trade gap would disappear.

Well that was a long time ago and it is time now to draw attention to one or two facts. First of all, the trade deficit has not disappeared under Conservative government; it has, in fact, remained as stubbornly as ever. Secondly, the fact that the Tories used to say in the days of Labour government that the gap inevitably meant poverty has not stopped them claiming that we are all having it good—although the gap is still there. And thirdly, the Tories have notched up the biggest trade deficit ever to be recorded for one month. All of which indicates that, however baffling the Labour government found the problems of running British capitalism, the Tories have not found the going much easier.

It was in last January that the trade gap reached its peak. Imports reached a new high of £457 million, while exports fell to £326 million which, taking into account £11 million worth of re-exports, left a "crude" trade gap of £120 million. This figure was especially impressive when compared to the monthly average gap of £45 million for 1962 and £49 million for last year.

By all the standards which the newspapers, the politicians and the city editors have used in the past, this was a crisis for British capitalism. But some of them, when the January figures were announced, revealed that they had adopted new

standards, or had at any rate modified the old ones. The *Daily Telegraph* headlined a gap of only £72 million, without mentioning the fact that this lower figure was arrived at after using a method of calculation which had not been used before. In the *Sunday Times*, economic editor William Rees Mogg was saying "By this weekend . . . no one doubts that there is a serious balance of trade problem to be contended with," although *The Guardian* a couple of days later had it that "People can talk themselves into a financial crisis. But at the moment there is none in sight." Sir Alec Douglas-Home was keeping his eye firmly fixed on the next election: "Do not let us," he said, "talk ourselves into a crisis or write ourselves into one on the basis of one set of monthly figures." And in this he was supported by Samuel Brittan in *The Observer* " . . . a crisis is a psychological phenomenon that exists when people think it does."

The obvious comment on this latter kind of optimism is that, if it is possible to talk ourselves into a crisis then all that is needed to remedy the situation is to talk ourselves out of it. (Sir Stafford Cripps, when he was Labour's Chancellor, made a similar statement about a crisis in 1949 but the economic problems of British capitalism beat him in the end—and no one could accuse Cripps of not being able to talk.) And if crises are only, after all these years, psychological phenomena, why, what the Treasury needs are not economists but psychiatrists, and Mr. Brittan's column should not be written by a financial wizard like himself but by an expert in mental disorders. What a pity nobody thought of it in the 'thirties! It would have saved the government such a lot of dole money.

This was not the end of the confusion. If the experts could not agree on whether there was a crisis, neither could they agree on what was needed to get rid of it. The National Institute of Economic and Social Research advised the government, in an article written a few days before the January trade figures were published, to increase personal taxation by about £200 million. Three days later the Federation of British Industries was recommending a decrease in income tax and an increase in indirect taxation. Mr. Rees Mogg declared himself " . . . opposed to import controls"—something which, said *The Guardian*, " . . . is beginning to be talked about again by economists in responsible places . . ." In the end, Mr. Maudling increased the Bank Rate, which some of the pundits had advised him to do but which the National Institute had described as " . . . not likely to be effective."

It is easy enough to pick out these contradictions. Whenever British capitalism finds itself in some sort of difficulty there is no lack of inconsistent advice from the experts. Whenever a Chancellor announces a measure which is supposed to relieve a crisis there are plenty of the same experts to crow that the measure is too little or too late, too large or too early, or that anyway they thought of it first. It does not seem to occur to them that, if they cannot agree upon the nature of a crisis, or upon the solution to it, or indeed upon whether there is a crisis at all, the chances of them ever being able to solve the economic maladies of capitalism are just about non-existent.

What the experts never tell us is that the trade gap is a problem which only capitalism can produce. Most of the world's developed countries are exporters—and even the undeveloped lands have some sort of export trade, if only in some primary crop like cocoa or sugar. But exports do not

simply go off into the blue—every one of them is an import into some other country. The £457 million worth of goods which came into this country during January were worth about that much to the countries which sent them here. Sometimes a nation's exports depend upon its imports; goods which are sent abroad are made by machinery which has been imported or include a vital component which, because it is made more cheaply in a foreign country, has been bought from there in preference to home produce. And with so many countries in this struggle, each of them fighting to get on top, it is impossible for them all exactly to balance their trade with each other. Even if they wanted to, that is; for if they were to try to keep their imports precisely level with their exports, capitalism's international trade would collapse and many of its industries with it.

This fact, naturally, is ignored by the government, who tell us what all good, docile patriots want to hear—that it is best for our country to be on top, for our country's trade balance to be in credit and to hell with the rest. At the same time governments abroad, who are competing with British industry in the world's markets, are telling their workers the same story and the workers are swallowing it and so the whole sorry mess goes on. While the people are busily swallowing the official propaganda, few of them are realising that the crises are interminable, that the experts and the Ministers are unable to deal with them and that in any case the state of their

country's trading accounts has no appreciable effect upon their welfare.

Neither are they realising that it is capitalism itself which creates the balance of payments problem. Why, in the name of sanity, should one area of the world not import more than it exports? Why should the Americas not send out a lot of cereals? Or Africa a lot of raw minerals? Or Australasia a lot of dairy produce? Why should not the world's wealth be produced in the areas where this can be done most efficiently and easily and sent to the areas where it is needed?

Why? Because at present the world is divided into opposing nations and groups of nations, who unite their interests, often temporarily, against the rest. Because the world is now split into rival trading groups who fight bitter economic wars against each other. Because the world produces its wealth to be sold so that the class which owns the machines and the materials which go into the wealth can make a profit on their investments.

We are now at the very root of the trouble. Until we deal with it the crises, of many kinds, will continue. But whoever may lose his job in a crisis, there is one type of person who will not be unemployed—the person who owes his position to his professed ability to do something about the uncontrollable ups and downs, stops and starts, which are an inevitable part of capitalism all over the world.

IVAN

## WELSH NATIONALISM

IN 1925 was formed *Plaid Cymru*, the Welsh nationalist party. One of its aims was to achieve Dominion status for Wales.

Today *Plaid Cymru* has become a national party and a real challenge to the Liberal and Labour parties. *Plaid Cymru* claims that English domination is the cause of the social ills, such as bad housing, old age, poverty, unemployment and rural depopulation from which the people of Wales suffer. What is the attitude of the Socialist Party of Great Britain to Welsh nationalism? Do we support the aim of Welsh independence? The Socialist and the nationalist see society from different points of view. For the Socialist present-day society is divided into two classes: a capitalist class who own the means of production, and a working class who, having no property, are forced to work for the capitalists. The interests of these two classes are opposed and between them there is a class struggle. This transcends national boundaries.

For the Socialist the propertyless working class have no country. The nationalist, on the other hand, sees the inhabitants of one particular area as a unit having a common interest. He ignores the class division of society and the class struggle. For him the nation is all-important. He

encourages the worker to believe he has a country. Thus Socialism and nationalism are opposed. They are irreconcilable. Nationalism is in fact one of the means which capitalism uses to blind the workers to class society. It is a delusion which Socialists seek to dispel. For this reason the Socialist Party is opposed to Welsh nationalism and does not support the demand for Welsh independence.

The cause of unemployment and other social ills is in capitalism and its production for profit. When there is no profit to make from production, then production stops and unemployment spreads. Unemployment is inevitable under capitalism.

*Plaid Cymru* sees the cause of Welsh unemployment in a mythical English domination. Here again the nationalist is mistaken. He sees poverty not as a class problem but as a national problem; a problem to be solved not by class emancipation but by national emancipation. Socialists are committed to exposing this way of looking at social problems. We deny that English domination is the cause of poverty in Wales and consequently hold that national independence is not the solution.

*Plaid Cymru* promises that if it forms the government it will introduce various

social reforms designed to improve the lot of the people of Wales. We say that such reforms will fail. For it is the social system, and not the political regime, which will determine how people will live in an independent Wales. It is obvious that *Plaid Cymru*, despite its talk of "co-operative Welsh Socialism," intends that capitalism in one form or another should continue after Wales has achieved independence. This means that poverty also will continue. National independence will merely mean that the capitalists of Wales will pay their taxes to a government in Cardiff instead of to a government in London—a change of no interest to the workers of Wales.

What then is the solution? Since these social problems arise from capitalism nothing short of the complete overthrow of this system will be sufficient. The Socialist Party therefore urges the workers of Wales to unite with workers elsewhere to set up a world Socialist system where the peoples of the world will co-operate to produce for their needs on the basis of the common ownership and democratic control of the means of life. This will be a society without frontiers, without nations and without war. This is the real alternative to capitalism and nationalism.

A. L. B.



# What Marx didn't say

ON March 5th the *Guardian* published a thousand word article by Mr. John Grigg, called "Fat Communists." Its immediate purpose was to expose the shallow reasoning of the Prime Minister and Mr. Harold Wilson, who had both said that the American Government should not bar trade with Cuba but encourage it, and thus help to raise the Cuban standard of living, because a "fat" Communist is less dangerous than a "lean" one. Mr. Grigg, in developing his argument, also smacked down Churchill and Attlee, Krushchev, Stalin and Marx.

People who think that professional writers and newspaper editors must know something about what they write and print may have been impressed by the article, but the really remarkable thing about it was the achievement of compressing so much error into so little space.

It was not quite all error: two of the points were valid. Certainly Churchill and Attlee were creating a myth when they referred during the war to a "thousand year feud between Teuton and Gaul." And if Cuban peasants think that supporting Castro will lessen their poverty they won't turn against him simply because their poverty becomes less.

Now for a batch of Mr. Grigg's absurdities. According to him, "Cuba is now a Communist State" (likewise Russia and China), "Communism is a dynamic world religion," and Marx believed in "economic determinism," holding that "men necessarily act in accordance with their economic self-interest."

Just to put the record straight, Cuba is not a "Communist" state, Communism is not a religion, Marx did not explain history by a doctrine of "economic determinism," nor did he believe that individuals necessarily act in accordance with economic self-interest.

Part of the confusion arises because the key-words in Mr. Grigg's article are widely used by people who have given no more thought to what they intend by them than he has, and he does nothing to clear it up by giving definitions.

Communism (or Socialism) in the meaning attached to it by Marx and other pioneers is a social system based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means of production, and distribution, without production for sale and profit, without the wages system, without incomes from property-owning, without class privilege, operating on the principle, "From each according to ability: to each according to need." Communism does not exist anywhere. All the world, except to the extent that there are still backwaters not yet brought into the main stream, is capitalist. Cuba, Russia, China, etc., are in the main capitalist stream, differing from

the so-called capitalist democracies in their use of political dictatorship to foster accumulation of capital and industrialisation.

Russia and Cuba do not cease to be capitalist because those in control of the machinery of government choose, out of ignorance or political calculation, to label themselves Communist, any more than Britain ceased to be capitalist under Ramsay MacDonald or Attlee because of their claim to be Socialist.

One pertinent question for Mr. Grigg to answer is posed by the very subject which prompted him to write. The movement or consumption of products inside or between capitalist countries is an act of trade, for money or through barter; in a non-capitalist world they would be neither. How then do Mr. Grigg's allegedly "Communist" Cuba and Russia come to be concerned with trade which could have no place in Socialism (Communism)?

Now for Marx. Marx called his theory of history historical materialism, not economic determinism. He claimed that men make history, not that it is predetermined. He expressly did not hold that the economic factor is the only one necessary to explain the course of history. Geographical factors are also among those relevant. He held that the economic factor is of predominant importance because the way in which wealth is produced and distributed forms the basis of human society and at a certain stage gives rise to property and class relationship and class struggles; that this economic factor is the one material factor which goes on changing and developing and consequently leads to changes in legal, political, moral and religious ideas and institutions. Marx did not hold that individual actions are no more than the consequence of individual economic interest uninfluenced by ideas. What he did hold was that ideas, and in particular class ideas, are determined by the method of producing the material livelihood, and change with the latter. But the ideas (the idea of Socialism is one of them) exercise their own influence on individual behaviour even to the point that sometimes "the dead hand of the past weighs like an alp on the brain of the living" and to the point that the individual may act in conformity with the ideas of his class against his own individual self interest. Marx went further and pointed out in the *Communist Manifesto* how it has happened in history that a small section of the ruling class "cuts itself adrift and joins the revolutionary class." He wrote:—

... so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular, a portion of the bourgeois ideolo-

We have received the following letter from a sympathiser in Jamaica.

## "COMMUNISM" IN LATIN AMERICA

Fidel Castro's announcement that agrarian reform should be abandoned must have come as a shock to the Communists in other countries of Latin America. The Cubans have at last realised that agrarian reform alone means nothing: it does not change the relationship between the farmer, his land and his market. The distribution of land does not produce food, it often means a drop in production. A peasant farmer suddenly

saddled with the responsibility of ownership but without knowledge in modern farming technique finds it hard to keep up his payments on his Government loan. In many cases he finds he would have been better off where he was before, on some landlord's estate.

The Communists are doing much work throughout this hemisphere. Because of the desperate economic inequalities existing in Latin America, students fall easy

prey to Communist slogans of "Land for the Landless" and "Bread for the Hungry."

The Alliance for Progress is under fire from all sections. The "Right" are fighting against it because some of the reforms suggested are against their interest; the Communists claim it is Imperialism. The Right Wing and Communists are often in agreement, each claiming to be the hope of the future. Communists are only

gists, who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movements as a whole.

Does anyone suppose that Marx's friend Engels, prosperous partner in his father's textile firm, was following individual economic interest in devoting time and energy to the Socialist movement and giving financial assistance to enable Marx to do the same?

Marx, of all people, was well aware that working-class history is full of examples of men who were prepared to put the idea of trade union or class loyalty before their individual economic interest. Let us then repeat for Mr. Grigg's benefit that his beliefs about Marx and historical materialism are wholly baseless.

Mr. Grigg in his article dashes off other sweeping assertions which land him in what ought to be obvious dilemmas. He endorses the claim made by the Jesuits that if they got hold of young children for indoctrination it would not be easy for the children even to escape from the ideas, and enlarges this into the statement that the Russian and other "Communist" governments, with modern propaganda resources, "can become almost self-perpetuating." He supports it with the statement that the workers in those countries will go on supporting their governments because they will see in underground railways, power stations and dams, etc., "miracles of Communism."

First he overlooks that the Catholic church, despite its hold on the young in the middle ages, lost its grip over a large part of its world to protestant rebels and the growth of irreligion. And much as Krushchev's government (like Home's and every other government in the world) may try to get the workers to believe that they enjoy benefits unknown to the unfortunates who live in other countries how, in the long run, are the exploited working class to be prevented from seeing the gulf between their own conditions of life and those of the privileged minority in their own country? And quite a lot of Russian workers happen to know that underground railways, power stations, etc., exist also in other parts of the capitalist world.

Mr. Grigg, having demolished the Churchill-Attlee myth and the Home-Wilson myth, creates one of his own. Krushchev, he says, "is a dedicated Russian Communist who aims at world revolution" because he is a devotee of that "dynamic world religion" which he shares with Mao and others.

Here is an explanation which explains nothing. Krushchev, Mao, Castro, etc., are titular heads of capitalist states which, in the nature of capitalist states, find themselves in conflict

with other capitalist states over trade rivalries, strategic frontiers, greed to control sources of raw materials, etc. This is understandable, and Marx's analysis of capitalism alone explains it. But what are we to make of a Krushchev and a Mao who are supposed by Mr. Grigg not to be affected by material capitalist factors but to be fanatical idealists motivated only by the idea of Communism, who have done nothing whatever about introducing Communism in their respective countries, whose policies at home and abroad are not significantly different from the policies of all the other heads of capitalist states and who, to cap it all, are in a state of cold war with each other?

Mr. Grigg tries to justify his belief that the world is divided into a capitalist half and a Communist half and "never the twain shall meet," by saying that one half cherishes "bourgeois values," but "a measure of personal liberty and initiative on which those bourgeois values rest" is foreign to the whole theory and practice of Communism. But hardly has he written this than he remembers something, and adds that these bourgeois values were also foreign "to the traditions and historic Russia."

So he is not only not dealing with Communism at all, he is not even dealing with Russian State capitalism, but with Tsarist Russia.

Here we get nearer to the truth, though it escapes Mr. Grigg. This lack of "personal liberty and initiative" were peculiarly features of pre-capitalist countries all over Europe. They came in with the rise of capitalism in England and elsewhere and though Mr. Grigg cannot see them developing in Russia Mr. Krushchev is well aware of them. How to encourage initiative has been a recurring theme of Krushchev's speeches for years. And, of course, the emerging bourgeoisie in Russia is interested in "personal liberty." What is the use of a privileged status, fat incomes, and accumulation of wealth if it is at the mercy of the arbitrary tyranny of a police state? This is precisely their interest in the movement away from Stalinism. They may have a considerable way to go before they can feel they are the equals of the capitalist class of the West, but the trend is unmistakable and it isn't in the direction Mr. Grigg thinks it is.

One final correction for Mr. Grigg. Personal liberty and initiative are not only not alien to Communism (Socialism) but are an integral part of it. They will first reach full expression only when Socialism comes into being in Russia, China and the rest of the capitalist world.

H.

interested in fighting American capitalism; they fully support local capitalism. Communist tactics vary from country to country; in Venezuela they take the form of open violence while in Haiti the campaign takes a racial line.

While this power struggle goes on, the people of Latin America continue to live in squalor, poverty and illiteracy. Population is increasing at a fast rate and every year more young people are con-

demned to a life of peasant farming; anyone who actually manages to get a university education automatically becomes a member of the "elite."

In this atmosphere of uncertainty and poverty, it may not be long before there is a Communist government elected in Latin America. Then perhaps people would have another first-hand opinion (as in the case of Cuba) of Communists trying to solve the country's economic prob-

lems. Socialists know that they would fare no better than their predecessors.

The problems of Latin America are the same as those which beset men all over the world, only perhaps they are more obvious there. Only by the united effort of all mankind will these problems disappear from the earth. The establishment of Socialism is there for the taking; sooner or later man will realise that this is his only salvation. GEORGE DOLPHY



## Three cheers for enterprise

We are constantly being lectured on the virtues of private enterprise. Our capitalists, we are told, are justified in taking their profits because of the skill and foresight they put into their businesses and of the way they generally plan and run them. But just how enterprising are we supposed to get? At what point does the enterprising deteriorate into the shady?

Last month saw the end of the mail train trial. So enterprising are the chief robbers that they have apparently managed to get clear away with most of the loot—to the tune of a couple of million pounds. The operation was certainly well planned, the execution faultless, and both skill and foresight amply displayed. Such results in a company balance sheet would lead to the most fulsome tributes from the shareholders.

Again last month, we were regaled with all the details of the great air ticket swindle. Once more some enterprising characters have been at work, this time getting away with something like a million pounds by selling airline tickets at a discount and conveniently omitting to pay for them or paying for them with dud cheques. And the great joke is that there are apparently quite a lot of eminent and respectable businessmen prepared to "shop around" for this dubious merchandise. It has almost become a status symbol to get a "ticket at a rebate," said Coloney Ford of B.O.A.C. to the *Observer*. Carrying enterprise to the lengths of making robbery and fraud tempting to the respectable—what could be more enterprising than that?

And at just about the same time, to give us three examples in a week, H.M. Customs published their report on smuggling during 1963. They seized goods to the value of about £120,000, of which one-half was accounted for by watches. But it is apparently common knowledge in the trade that for every watch that is seized by the Customs, at least fifty others are successfully smuggled through; perhaps as many as two million smuggled watches circulate in this country each year compared with "legitimate" sales of about five millions. One smuggler was recently convicted for concealing 700 watches in his waistcoat, with the option of 12 months imprisonment or a fine of £6,500; the fine was paid the next day. You have to be a very

enterprising operator to stand overheads like that!

Three fine illustrations, in short, of how to succeed in business. And just in case someone is all ready to protest about the difference between the straight and the crooked, let him pause a moment. Is there all that difference? The shoddy goods and poor workmanship, the slick advertising and the glib sales talk, the tax evasion and the expense accounts, the cut-throat competition and the take-over bids, the short weight and the wrong change, the cartel and the monopoly, the "loss leader" and the big, plain foot in the door—what is so respectable about all these?

And what is so respectable about the greatest fraud of all—the exploitation of the many by the few?

## Oil under the sea

The scramble for oil now goes on under the water as well as over the land. The big companies vie with each other to explore the sea bed in more than a dozen parts of the world and are actively prospecting for more.

As long ago as 1937 the Americans were drawing up oil from the Louisiana seaboard, though the amounts were small. But within the last few years, offshore output has gone up considerably and the search has spread to California and Alaska, Mexico and Venezuela, the Middle East and Egypt, West Africa, the Mediterranean, and now the North Sea.

## Companion Parties

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Fanouil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

Spurred on by the recent huge natural gas find in Holland, British, Dutch and German interests are already struggling hard for concessions. The French and Belgians are showing similar concern for their own coastal areas.

Why such a sudden spurt of interest in the oil under the sea? First, because the need for more and more oil is unceasing (reserves in 1939 were estimated at 40 years' supply, today they are reckoned at 30). Second, because even if this were not the case, no oil company can afford to let its rivals steal a march on it—this is a law of capitalism stark and simple.

The chances of finding oil under the sea are good, especially when the prospective deposits lie close to oil-bearing land areas. But the expense gives the oil companies the shivers—it is between three and nine times as costly as land prospecting and, of course, the question of coastal water limits immediately becomes an added problem. 21 countries have already signed the proposed Geneva convention on these and Germany, which has hitherto had nothing to do with it, has suddenly decided it might be a good idea to sign it after all. The convention proposes to calculate the national limit as far out as the 100 fathom line and this could cause enormous trouble since in some parts of the world the sea bottom is fairly shallow for many miles; the Straits of Dover, for example, are nowhere near this depth so that both France and Britain could technically lay claim to the entire width of the strait.

All in all, the proverb about pouring oil on troubled waters could hardly be less appropriate.

## Exports—or dumping?

The recently published report by the Richardson Committee turned down the idea of introducing the turnover tax as a method of stimulating exports. The decision was not unexpected, but one of the reasons for it certainly was.

This was that very few of the exporting firms consulted by the Committee thought they would benefit from the system because, they alleged, they generally made little or no profit from their exports anyway. Commented the *Guardian*, "Does the bulk of our export trade really depend on practices which verge on dumping, as this implies?"

Perhaps it does, when you come to think of it. Competition in many industries is now fierce indeed, and exporting is made even more difficult when there are tariff barriers to be overcome. Britain is already meeting problems in getting goods into the Common Market because the tariff is getting progressively stiffer, and the Six are having similar troubles with exports to the EFTA bloc.

It is well known that many British cars are going to countries such as France at prices which can at the most cover cost and may be less; French manufacturers are using the same discount methods to send cars to Britain. There is lots of evidence to show that refrigerators, ships, steel products, chemicals of various kinds, agricultural produce, are being similarly marketed, often with government aid to

cover the deficit.

It would be really interesting to know, in fact, just what proportion of international trade is taking the form of dumping, or something extremely close to it.

## An excess of eggs

With the high point of the production year yet to come, there are all the signs of an egg glut extending not only to this country but over the whole of Europe. Germany has already tried to close the door to imports but has had to open it again following protests from her partners in the Six. In Britain, farmers have been warned of the approach of serious over-production, the intention being pre-

sumably to get them to cut down their laying flocks.

But such warnings are a waste of time. The small farmer cannot afford to do it anyway and the first reaction of the big producer is to step up the size of his flock so as to get more efficient output! The real irony, however, is that with a government subsidy of 5½d. a dozen, the big man cannot go wrong.

About £30 million of state aid has been paid to egg producers this year. Its intention was to help the small man to survive, but its main effect has been to make the big farmer bigger. This is the inexorable development of capitalism, we know, but it is ironic to see a capitalist government paying out such vast sums so gratuitously to assist the process.

S. H.

# One way to solve the traffic problem

It is always pleasant to see non-Socialists putting forward views in support of our case even though sometimes they go further than we ourselves are prepared to go.

In our special issue last January we discussed the motor car and how capitalism was incapable of coping with it. What it was unable to reconcile, we stated, was social production with individual ownership; the cars come rolling off the lines in millions to be used to a negligible extent by millions of individual owners. Perhaps, we suggested, society already had more than enough cars, and all that was necessary, as would be the case under Socialism, was for them to be used sensibly as a supplementary to a comfortable, convenient, and generally well run public transport system.

Now Dr. E. J. Mishan, Reader in Economics at the London School of Economics, has put forward proposals even more far-reaching. In the March issue of the *F.B.I. Review*, hardly a Socialist paper, he says:

Indeed, the one radical alternative we should take a long look at before contemplating compromise solutions is that of a gradual but total abolition of all privately-owned motor cars.

Such a solution, he goes on to say, would point a much simpler and less expensive way to a sane and sensible pattern of living:

For a small fraction of the money we

are currently spending on the maintenance of private cars and on all the Government services necessary to keep the traffic moving—to say nothing of the enormous investments required to implement the Buchanan proposals—we could simultaneously achieve three socially desirable objectives:

1. Provide a comfortable and highly efficient (and in the interests of amenity preferably electrically powered) public transport service, bus and train, in all major population areas;

2. Through Government control of public transport to restrain and perhaps reverse the spread of population that has followed in the wake of post-war speculative building which has done so much to ruin the beauty of the countryside; and

3. To restore quiet and dignity to our cities and to enable people to wander unobstructed and enjoy once more the charm of historic towns and villages.

Motorised freight should be minimised, substituting as far as possible the use of railways in built-up areas.

London's underground, for instance, could be adapted to carry freight loads during the small hours, with shop deliveries taking place when people were off the streets.

But Dr. Mishan, like Professor Buchanan, reveals himself as yet another idealist. All that he suggests, however sensible and desirable it may be, hasn't the slightest chance of coming about while capitalism lasts. He talks of his proposal "being worthy of consideration in a nation that prides itself on its political

maturity"; unfortunately for him, the greater part of the nation are not politically mature. If they were, they would no longer tolerate a system of society based on the profit motive and on the belief that everything must be subservient to it.

The great majority support such a system. They think it right and normal for the wealth of the world to be produced primarily for sale at a profit, to be owned individually and used individually. The idea of giving up their private motor cars is as far from their minds as is the idea of Socialism itself; Dr. Mishan is yet another, therefore, who sees clearly where reason and common sense lie yet fails to see that the particular problem he is concerned with is only part of a wider issue—the issue of Socialism versus capitalism.

Dr. Mishan is at least able to see some things free from the gloss of the shallow and the spurious which capitalism attaches to everything in the modern world. His aspirations are worthy ones—he seeks to "recapture the lost sense of community and citizenship, a more leisurely and dignified way of life"—but such aspirations are doomed to failure from the start in a framework of thought which accepts capitalism as eternal.

He talks of a radical alternative, but it is in fact nothing of the sort. The radical alternative is to get rid of capitalism and replace it by Socialism.

S. H.



## The passing show

*Keep young and profitable*

It is not very pleasant to reflect that many of us, when we reach our sixties, face the prospect of life on an old age pension. Generally speaking, our productive powers will have declined to the point of unprofitability, and like so many worn out machines, we will be of only scrap value to the owners of the means of production. That is what it really means, despite the gallons of crocodile tears which capitalist politicians have spilled at election times over the plight of the aged.

Not that the politicians are necessarily callous by nature, but they are administering a system, and this system works by exploiting human beings. So it will look after its young a bit more because they are much more exploitable than the old. And if that means misery and hardship for old workers, well it is only part of the overall picture of misery and hardship anyway. And with a shrug of your mental shoulders you tell yourself that you are not going to lose much sleep over it. That's if you are a capitalist politician.

At the same time, you will never quite forget the question of the pensioners, but from another point of view. What a vast source of labour power would be here, if only they could be given a new lease of life—sort of reconditioned—for a few more years at least. Just think how the financial burden of pensions could be reduced, to say nothing of the prospects of increased profits.

So perhaps your pulse will have quickened with interest when you read the recent *Evening Standard* "KEEPING YOUNG SECRET UNVEILED." Apparently there's this London Doctor Tiberius Reiter, who has managed to find a synthetic copy of the key male hormone testosterone, which, when given to men in specially controlled dosage, gives them back some of their youthful vigour. The whole body is revitalised, it is claimed, by this chemical, and the doctor was sufficiently enthusiastic about it to tell his findings to a joint meeting of the Royal Society of Medicine and the Endocrinological Society.

No mention was made of the possible side-effects of this treatment. Maybe these will come to light later on, and perhaps then some of the enthusiasm for it will wane a little. Nevertheless, it is a sign of the times and if the capitalist class can see any prospect in it for widespread use, the chances are that they will give it their blessing. After all, the problem of

a steadily ageing population has bothered them quite a lot in recent years.

Don't get us wrong, by the way. Good luck to you if you can get a spell of new vigour in your latter years. But don't think that if this chemical is made widely available, it will be because your rulers feel sorry for you. Nothing is an unmixed blessing under capitalism.

### Noise Problem

That may seem a sweeping statement to make, but a moment or two's reflection will show its truth. And why? Because the profit motive is the driving force behind production within capitalist society, and takes precedence over human interests. So problems linger on, not because they are physically incapable of solution, but because it would at present be too costly for the ruling class to tackle them. A glaring example is the growing health menace of noise. Its increase has been alarmingly rapid, and its effects on our nerves devastating, but those living near such places as busy main roads and airports are perhaps the worst afflicted.

It must have been a pretty frantic delegation of residents from the London Airport area which lobbied M.P.'s at the beginning of March, but for all the help they got their fare money would have been better spent buying earplugs. The noise from the airport is a round-the-clock evil now, with jets roaring low overhead at frequent intervals. Time was when night flights were a rarity, but such is the pace of competition between the airlines, that it has now become normal.

The MP's were "sympathetic" of course but told the delegation that night flights must go on "for obvious economic reasons" and it would be "impractical" to demand blanket sound proofing in the area. "... I should think that everything human ingenuity can devise has been tried," said the Conservative member for Brentford and Chiswick (Dudley Smith) inanely. Poor Mr. Broadbent, leader of the delegation, was not very happy at the results of the meeting; he could see that they were getting nowhere fast. "An absolute abomination" he called the noise level at night. Agreed, Mr. Broadbent. But so is the crazy system which has produced it, and frustrates your every effort to remove it.

### No more slums

In about ten years time, we shall have got rid of most of the slums in Britain—according to Housing Minister Sir Keith Joseph. What's that you say? You don't believe a word of it? Well, to tell you the truth, neither do we. Capitalist politicians have been making such statements for donkey's years. Duncan Sandys, for example, said in 1955 that the back of the problem would be broken in ten years, and similar thoughts were expressed in a government white paper in 1961. Then there was Labourite Ernest Bevin who astounded even his own supporters during the 1945 election by saying that the whole housing problem could be solved in *two weeks* under a Labour government.

Back in the days before the war, apparently, it was just as fashionable to be optimistic about slum clearance particularly if, like Health Minister Sir Hilton Young, you did not have to live in one. These were his words in 1934:—

Twelve months hence the slums should be falling, according to present prospects, five times as fast, till the work reached its maximum speed two years hence. Five years was not an unduly long time to cure

an evil which had been growing for a hundred. (Times 8/3/34).

less than eighteen months later his successor, Sir Kingsley Wood, was hastening to assure us that:—

So far as slum clearance is concerned, record progress was being made (Times 1/7/35).

which cheerfulness should be paired twenty-one years later with that of Mr. Duncan Sandys, thus:—

I think things are going pretty well. The slum clearance drive is steadily gaining momentum. (Hansard 13/12/56).

We could add to these quotes many times over, but the point has been made

and, we hope, taken. We are painfully aware that slums are still very much with us, despite all the speeches over the years, although it would be futile to blame the individual politicians concerned. This is just another of the monsters which capitalism has created, and which politicians are largely powerless even to contain, let alone destroy.

E.T.C.

### BOOKS

## A Labour leader looks back

### The Braddocks

Bessie Braddock, M.P., *Macdonald*, 30s.

When Labour achieved its landslide victory under Attlee in 1945, one of its leaders (Mr. Greenwood, father of the present "shadow cabinet" minister) made a speech to the jubilant crowd of M.P.'s at Westminster saying what a fine varied lot they were: barristers, solicitors, doctors, business men—as well as trade union leaders and the sons of toil. We do not recall that he said anything about noticing any Socialists among them; but no doubt this might be because it was taken for granted that they were all Socialists.

One thing, however, that it would be difficult for anyone to dispute about these hundreds of Labourites rubbing their eyes in surprise at finding themselves in the House of Commons is that they were as humdrum and anonymous a crowd of non-Socialists as you could find anywhere, and few of them made much of an impression in their new and elevated surroundings. Possibly it is because of this dull background that Bessie Braddock stood out so conspicuously.

This book is her life-story, intertwined with that of her husband Jack (who collapsed and died just after the book came out), and it is of some value in the picture it gives of working-class life on Merseyside and particularly of Labour and Communist political activities there in the decades after the ending of the first war-to-end-war in 1918. The background is typical—poverty, strikes, police brutality—and set against that the typical reactions of the less apathetic workers like the Braddocks, trade union agitation, activity in the Communist and/or Labour parties, cycling Sundays, reading Blatch-

ford's *Clarion* and in general believing in fighting for as many reforms as possible, for as much of the "something now" as you could hope to get. They thought somehow that these things added up to Socialism and would change the face of society.

In the case of many of the Labour leaders who achieved a certain amount of eminence as a result of their political activities one tries in vain to resist the feeling that they were mainly interested less in the "something now" for the working class which they knew to be a futile chasing of your own tail than in "What's in it for me?" With both of the Braddocks one gets a feeling of honest effort misapplied. It is difficult to see how anyone could imagine that the policies of the Labour Party could have the slightest effect on the position of the workers as members of a property-less class forced to take their chance on the labour market. It remains true that most workers in 1945 (and no doubt just as many today) could not see things in the way a Socialist does. And from the evidence of this book the Braddocks qualified fully for the role of blind leaders of the blind. But at least they seemed to do so with more sincerity and less of the tongue-in-cheek attitude than some of their kind. The chapter by Bessie entitled "Surgery" seems to prove that.

Like so many Labour M.P.'s she fondly imagines that her regular "surgery" at which she would hear the special problems and complaints of her constituents were a meaningful exercise in keeping the sea of capitalism's problems from beating around working-class doors. No doubt she could help with free advice which could be of some use at times. But

then this applies to "poor man's lawyers" (or even to the surgeries run by Tory M.P.'s). To anyone prepared to look a little below the surface the very name "surgery" should have been a warning of futility. For how often does it happen that a doctor will use his skill and his science in trying to cure his patients, knowing that they leave his surgery to go back to the very conditions

### essential reading

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that cause the illnesses—poor food, bad housing, the worry and neurosis caused by keeping up with the rent or the mortgage or the latest speed-up at the factory. But the Braddocks of this world seem to close their eyes to the real truths of our way of life.

Two matters of perhaps special interest in this book are worth the reader's notice. The first is to do with the fact that the Braddocks were at one time members of the Communist Party and leading members at that. Consequently they were in a good position to see how that party was used merely as a mouth-piece for Russian state-capitalism—with the communists, having got rid of the notions of patriotism which bedevil most workers, merely replacing them with what might well be the slogan "My Russia, right or wrong." A particularly illuminating item tells that in one period in the

twenties (when the pound was real money) the income of the C.P. from contributions was £7,500, while the amount of funds received direct from Russia in the same eighteen months was no less than £85,000, a truly staggering sum for those days.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain (among others) often said that the CP was not a party that was supported entirely by working class contributions and that there must clearly be a Russian piper playing the tune; there never was any other feasible explanation as to how such a small party could possibly afford the tremendous expense of running the *Daily Worker*.

The other point concerns Bessie's opinions about Bevan who, at least since his death, has become almost beatified even by his opponents in the Labour

Party. She retails the story of the arrest and prosecution by the Labour Government of three dockers from Merseyside—for the crime of striking! Sir Hartley Shawcross was the Attorney-General who ordered the arrests and Mrs. Braddock alleges that Bevan engineered him into that action so as to discredit a rival candidate for the post of Foreign Secretary to the place of the ailing Ernie Bevin. Yet Bevan himself told Shawcross: "The strikers are on their knees; now is the time to strike them." (P. 105).

Still, Bessie goes on being a Labour M.P. and by all appearances remains as blissfully unaware of the sheer ridiculousness of it all as the workers who vote for her. She remains a likeable character: if only she would think a little more deeply and then throw her weight into the scales on the side of Socialism.

LAWRENCE WEIDBERG

## Let's look at work

WHEN we speak of work in the social or economic sense, we mean the expending of physical and mental energies upon means of production—either directly, in the creation of wealth, or indirectly in the distribution and administration which arise from production.

Because under capitalism the means of production belong to a minority, the capitalist class, work is carried out under the antagonistic relationship of employer to employee. Therefore, when the Socialist refers to members of the working-class as wage-slaves, he is sticking strictly to what is socially and economically accurate. Workers are compelled to seek out a member of the owning class, or someone who acts on his behalf, like a foreman, manager or state official, in order to offer for sale his physical and mental powers to work. These powers are part of his person and cannot be sold apart from him. The price, be it relatively high or low, which the worker obtains, is commonly referred to as wages. There are, unfortunately, many workers who find the acceptance of their class position distasteful and prefer to call their wages a salary. Such attitudes are skilfully pandered to by the capitalist class and by the politicians who shape their vote-catching

accordingly. But they do not affect the facts of the situation one iota.

In order to wrest from nature the wherewithal to live, men have always had to work. Regardless of the claims made for electronics and automation, they will always have to do so. Nor is a situation wherein men did not have to work the least bit desirable. The great crime of capitalism is that it reduces the class that works to simply chasing pay-packets, so that money becomes the object of all social productive activities, and the work itself regarded as an evil necessity.

The idea of doing something useful and taking pleasure in doing it well, is something which survives only faintly, and against tremendous pressure. Capitalism, with its profit motive, so distorts and debases everything that people, for example, whose job it is to tell lies on television commercials are held in higher regard than road-sweepers.

We are taught that it is important to be successful. But here again, capitalism measures success in money terms. If one is an architect, one is successful. If one is a bricklayer, despite the mutual dependency of the two, success is somehow not thought to be a relevant term. To be a good carpenter has nothing to the social

esteem that being a pop-singer has. Carpentry can be immensely interesting creative work, but here another aspect of capitalism comes in—the lack of fulfilment. It is the repetition and frustration in most people's lives under capitalism that gives pop-singers and such their exaggerated importance. They represent outlets—avenues of escape from a world which would otherwise drive more people mad than it already does. Even the carpenter has to use cheap materials and speed up his work because capitalism says, "time is money." What pleasure can he get from making hundreds of front doors out of battens and hardboard and filling the hollow with chippings?

It is a remarkable thing that workers in many industries, such as clothing, food and building, spend their lives producing the sham and the shoddy for themselves, and the expensive and luxurious for the wealthy. But despite the absurdity, few seem to notice it.

The answer is to be found in what passes for the "ideology" of capitalism. The worker is taught from the earliest age to keep his place and to regard himself as one of the lower orders whose good fortune it is to be allowed to work for an employer. The pulpit, the press, the

## Branch News

Much activity is taking place in the Party and this behoves well for the better weather and the outdoor propaganda meetings. Particularly in Bromley (Lewisham Branch) and in Woodside (Glasgow), comrades are enthusiastically working in preparation for the General Election. Members not able to join in the regular work can help considerably by making great efforts to attend the meetings and take along as many friends as they can. The Glasgow meeting on April 26th is an election meeting and the Branch is challenging all the opponents who are contesting the Municipal Election in the North Kelvin Ward to state their case.

Readers will note the May Day meetings advertised in this issue. In London, Trafalgar Square has been booked for Sunday, May 3rd, and with the experience gained at the September meeting, providing everyone works as hard and enthusiastically, this May Day should prove even more successful. Such an occasion provides great propaganda possibilities and we must make the

very most of it.

Nottingham is following up the recent meetings at the Cosmo Debating Society when Comrade D'Arcy spoke, and the members there are planning a May Day Rally in Market Square on Sunday, May 3rd, in the afternoon and evening. The Cosmo Debating Society meeting was very successful. It is some time now since the Party sent a speaker there and our comrade D'Arcy was made very welcome. There was a debate with the Anarchists later in the evening, this, too, was well attended.

Sunderland Group (details under Groups) has started well and the Group hopes to hold regular meetings. It is hoped to have a full report of the activities in Sunderland in the May SOCIALIST STANDARD. West London Branch recently had a lecture by our comrade Waters on the General Strike. This was well attended and particularly appreciated by younger members who learned much from the lecture.

P. H.

## Meetings

### ISLINGTON

Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7  
(near Finsbury Park Tube)  
Thursday, April 9th, 8 pm  
**REALITY**  
Speaker: T. Giles

### WEMBLEY

Barham Old Court, Barham Park, Harrow Road, Wembley  
Monday, 6th April, 8 pm  
**RUSSIAN AND CHINESE CAPITALISM**  
Speaker: E. Hardy  
Monday, 20th April, 8 pm  
**THE AFFLUENT SOCIETY**  
Speaker: D. Zucconi

### PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
(near Marylebone Road and Tube)  
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm  
April 8th  
**ISRAEL**  
Speaker: L. Weidberg  
April 22nd  
**DISCUSSION WITH LONDON ANARCHIST GROUP**  
April 29th  
**A SOCIALIST LOOKS AT EDUCATION**  
Speaker: S. Roope

### NOTTINGHAM MAY DAY RALLY

Sunday, 3rd May  
Market Square  
3 pm and 6 pm

### GLASGOW MEETINGS

Woodside Central Halls, Glenfarg Street  
Sundays, 7.30 pm

### BROMLEY MEETINGS

see page 68

### DEBATE WITH INDEC

Bromley Library, May 8th, 8pm

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays:

Hyde Park, 3 pm  
East Street, Walworth  
April 5th and 19th (noon)  
April 12th (11 am)  
April 26th (1 pm)

Mondays: Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

Wednesdays: Outside Charing Cross Tube Station, Villiers Street, 7.30 pm

Thursdays: Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son, Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London E.C.1.



**SUNDAY MAY 3rd**  
**3 pm**  
**TRAFALGAR SQUARE**  
**MAY DAY**  
**DEMONSTRATION**

**BROMLEY**

Candidate: E. Grant  
 Agent: I. Robertson

Canvassing every Sunday, meet  
 Bromley Library, High St., at 11a.m.

(Trains: Victoria to Bromley South,  
 London Bridge to Bromley North.  
 Buses: 47, 36, 94).

All further details contact I. Robert-  
 son — phone: Farnborough 51719

Robert Whyte Hall, 32 London Road,  
 Friday, April 10th, 8 pm

Friday, April 24th, 8 pm  
 Public Library, High Street  
**THE ECONOMICS OF HOUSING**  
 Speaker: J. D'Arcy

Robert Whyte Hall, 32 London Road,  
 Friday, May 1st, 8 pm  
**MAY DAY RALLY**  
 Speakers: E. Grant, C. May

Public Library, High Street  
 Friday, May 22nd, 8 pm  
**AN OPEN CHALLENGE TO ALL  
 PARTIES TO STATE THEIR  
 CASE AGAINST SOCIALISM**  
 Speakers: H. Baldwin, C. May

"The Socialist Party of Gt. Britain  
 will be contesting Bromley  
 (London) and Woodside (Glasgow)  
 in the forth-coming General  
 Election."

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

**Your help is  
 required, now!  
 contact Lewisham  
 and Glasgow  
 Branches for  
 information.**

Contribute generously to the  
 Parliamentary Fund SPGB,  
 52 Clapham High St., London,  
 S.W.4.

**WOODSIDE**

Candidate: R. Vallar  
 Agent: G. Vanni

For Canvassing details contact  
 A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street,  
 Glasgow, N.W.

Meetings every Sunday at Wood-  
 side Central Hall, Glenfarg Street  
 at 7.30 p.m.

April 5th  
**THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION**  
 Speaker: J. D'Arcy

April 12th  
**IS THE CLASS STRUGGLE  
 OUTDATED?**  
 Speaker: A. Shaw

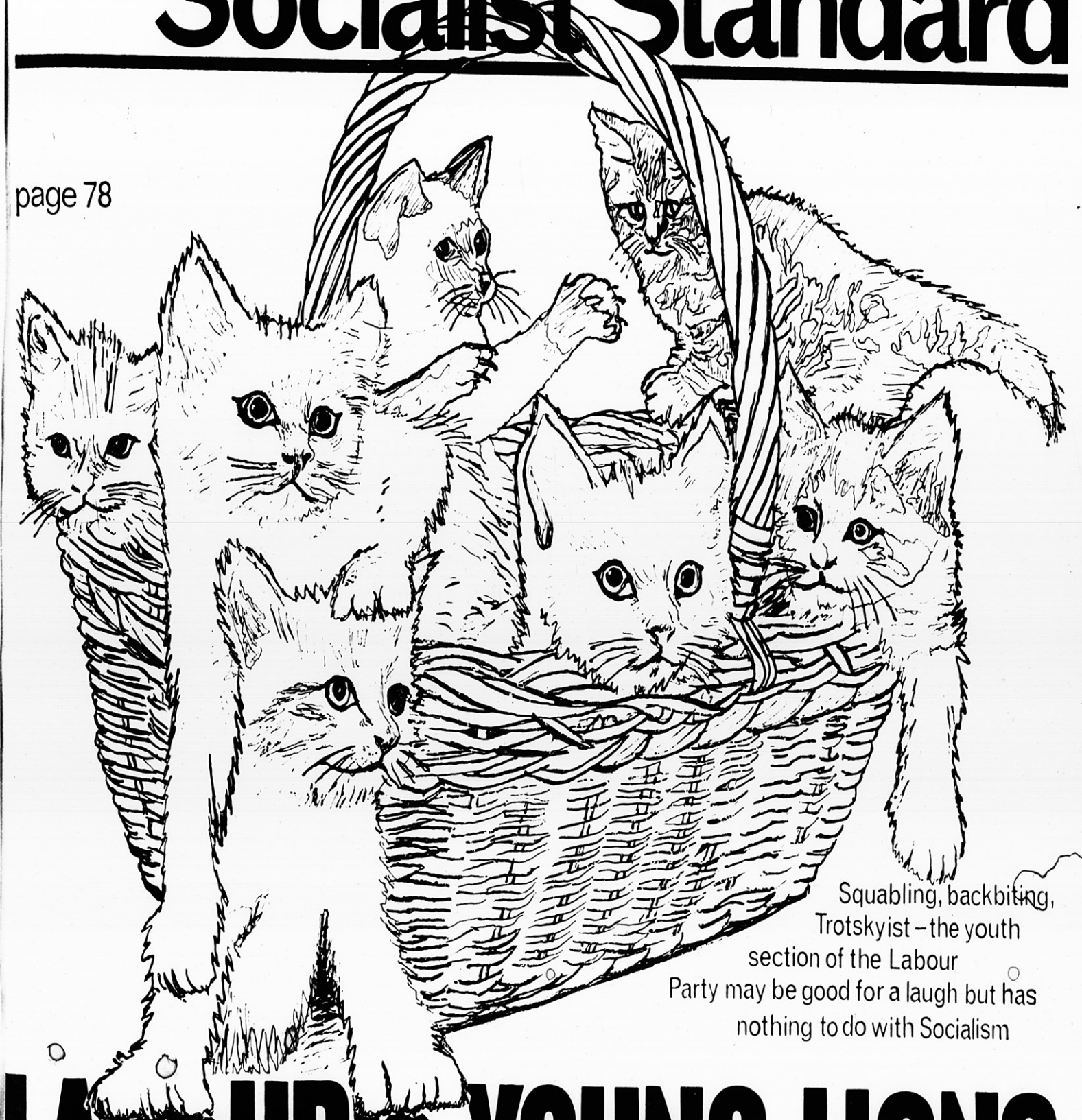
April 19th  
**THE FUTILITY OF THE LEFT  
 WING**  
 Speaker: V. Vanni

April 26th  
**THE CHALLENGE OF  
 SOCIALISM**  
 We challenge all our opponents in the  
 North Kelvin Ward to state their case  
 in opposition.  
 Speakers: R. Donnelly, R. Vallar



# Socialist Standard

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Squabbling, backbiting,  
Trotskyist – the youth  
section of the Labour  
Party may be good for a laugh but has  
nothing to do with Socialism

## LABOUR'S YOUNG LIONS

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LULL BEFORE THE ELECTION

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THE REHABILITATION OF PAVEL DYBENKO



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 7th and 21st May 8 pm: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, S.W.2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm 1st May at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 15th May at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**EALING**. See WEST LONDON.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursdays 7th and 21st May 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

## DEBATE

Friday 8th May 8pm  
Bromley Library, Bromley High Street, Kent

"WHICH WAY TO PEACE?"  
SPGB or INDEC

Both debaters are  
prospective candidates  
for Bromley

For SPGB: E. Grant For INDEC: J. Haigh

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (13th May) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Every 2 weeks (Mondays 4th and 18th May) 8 pm, 17 Cotswold Rd., Westcliff. Correspondence: A. Partner 28 Hambro Hill, Rayleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (4th and 18th May) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (14th and 28th May in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnacke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (8th and 22nd May) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Glibertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meetings from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

May 1964

Vol 60 No 717

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain and the World  
Socialist Party of Ireland



### SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting May 24th.

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## The lull before the election

Now that the Prime Minister has given some indication of when the General Election will be held, perhaps we shall see something of a falling off in the hectic political activity which has been going on for the past few months. It would be difficult for any party to keep up the pace, the expense, and the interest of an electorate who, although they have everything to gain by taking an intelligent interest in politics, are generally apathetic to such matters.

If there is a lull, it will mean that the big parties will have to revise their strategy. The Labour Party's costly "Let's Go" campaign appears to have been timed for the maximum impact during a Summer election; on the evening of Home's announcement, Labour secretary Mr. Williams ruefully speculated upon the expense which the later poll will cause his party.

Perhaps that was one of the effects which the Tories were hoping for. Or perhaps they are simply counting on something turning up between now and the Autumn to save them from what at present seems certain defeat. And perhaps it will. The history of elections does not encourage anyone to hope that the working class are proof against stunts or against being taken in by some issue in which they really have no interest.

It is typical of the modern Tories that they should put off the election until the last possible moment. Macmillan set the fashion for doing the politically dangerous thing and then blandly ignoring the consequent uproar. He did it over the spy trials, over the resignations of his Ministers, over the appointment of Lord Home (as he then was) as Foreign Secretary. And his party carried this on when they chose Home as their leader and delayed the opening of Parliament to give him a chance to become an M.P.

This not only shows the contempt in which the Conservatives hold the voters; it also shows their empirical determination to govern British capitalism, as it needs, day by day, to be governed. The Conservatives have always made a point of eschewing any political theories on the way to run capitalism and this has been much to British capitalism's liking. It has also been much to the liking of the British working class, who have shown their gratitude for the contempt, for the Suez invasion, for the wage pause, for the housing situation and the rest, by faithfully returning Tory governments with ever increasing majorities.

Now, it seems, they are on the verge of electing a government of another party. Presumably, if the working class decide in the Autumn that the Labour Party should take over, they will do so in the belief that this will improve their conditions, or at any rate help to solve some of their problems.

There is nothing in the history of previous Labour governments to support this belief. Nor is there anything in the programme upon which the Labour Party is preparing to fight the next election to support it.

The next Labour government—if there is one—will be as much the subject of dissatisfaction as were its predecessors. Workers will grumble about the cost of living, about their housing difficulties and other similar problems. There will be strikes over wages and working conditions, in spite of government appeals not to rock the boat. Pensioners will have a thin time of it. The fact that such problems as these—and many others—continue under a Labour government will probably depress and bewilder many of the people who so hopefully voted for it.

But the explanation is quite simple.

The Labour Party is an organisation which stands for capitalism. When it gets power it runs capitalism in basically the same way as the Conservatives or





any other party. The problems of capitalism—war, poverty, insecurity—are therefore bound to continue under a Labour government.

The root of it all is the intentions and the desires of the voters. If the working class want to abolish war, if they want to get rid of the poverty which degrades and distorts their lives, they can do so.

All they have to do is to accumulate some knowledge of capitalism and of how Socialism, by abolishing the basis of capitalism, will also abolish its problems.

When they have got that knowledge the working class will reject all the political parties which stand for the continuance of capitalism. They will opt for Socialism—a world of abundance in which man, for the first time, will be free.

## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### AT HOME

#### The Budget

Many of the professional economic forecasters came out rather better than usual from Mr. Maudling's second Budget. The heavier taxes on alcohol and tobacco had been widely tipped and so had some extension of the betting tax. But the Chancellor upset many predictions by not altering the standard rate of income tax, the tax on petrol and National Insurance contributions and benefits.

There is always plenty of advice and prognostication from the financial experts before a Budget. Experience does not encourage us to regard this as very valuable. Said *The Economist* of April 11th:—

... the surge in demand and productivity during this last financial year ... has looked astonishingly similar to that in the financial year 1959-60 ... (when) most economic commentators urged Mr. Amory to raise taxes by between £100 million and £200 million in his Budget ... but ... from that first quarter of 1960 demand and productivity suddenly ceased to grow and, apart from minor fluctuations, remained at about the same level for two years. Modern economic computers can sometimes badly overestimate the exact amounts of tax increases that are really desirable in times of boom, because nobody has yet devised a science for gauging the way in which a boom mentality among consumers can quite suddenly be deflated.

This last admission did not, of course, prevent *The Economist* from offering its own advice to Mr. Maudling.

It is a widely held assumption that tax alterations are bound to affect prices. But the facts show that this is not the case. There have been plenty of recent examples—cinema seats, lawn mowers, some types of confectionery—in which a change in tax has not been responsible for a change in price.

Prices must move as the market allows them to. At one time the market may allow a manufacturer to recoup a tax increase by putting up his price—or perhaps even to over-compensate by putting the price up by more than the rise in tax. At another time selling conditions may not allow such an increase and the manufacturer will have to yield up some more of his profit to the government.

Whatever happens, the government are only interested in raking in the taxes to help pay for the upkeep of the State machine and all its ramifications.

This year's Budget will probably be unpopular among the working class, who seem to get a real kick out of the couple of shillings a week extra which some Budgets may bring them—and who can be cast into deep depression by a Budget which goes the other way. In this confusion and ignorance, Mr. Maudling may have done enough to set the seal on his party's fate in the Autumn.

#### A Labour London

The Labour victory in the elections to the new Greater London Council was widely forecast, although even so in some of the contests they were surprisingly successful.

The government at the moment is in very heavy weather and the dissatisfaction with the Conservatives at national level was bound to influence local affairs as well.

It was not so long ago that the Tories were saying that politics were better kept out of local government. The Town Hall was, apparently, the place where local men good and true did their level best for the locality. To introduce party labels into this was ungentlemanly.

The father of the present Duchess of Kent, in an interview with *The Observer*, once gave a typical expression to this attitude. He was at the time a prominent member of an urban council in Yorkshire. Sometimes, he said, some Labour

fellows tried to get on the council, but in most cases they soon learned to drop that stuff and to work for local interests.

Officially, this is no longer the Tory line. None of their candidates for the G.L.C. stood under the old labels of Ratepayers, or Municipal Reform, or anything like them. They were all Conservatives. "I hope," said the leader of their candidates, Sir Percy Rugg, "there is no Conservative who thinks his vote does not matter."

This taking off the gloves has helped in the notion that the local elections are a sort of primary for the general election which is to come in the Autumn. Certainly, the Labour Party are hailing their victory as a precursor of what is to happen when Sir Alec finally names the day. The Tories, as we may expect, are analysing the voting figures again and again, looking for evidence that they prove exactly nothing at all.

Nobody was anxious to draw attention to another way in which the G.L.C. election resembled a general election—in the glowing promises which were made to the voters. Sir Percy Rugg offered "... humane and personal administration as well as efficiency ... a realistic housing target. ..."

His Labour counterpart, Mr. W. Fiske, was promising cheaper land for housing and a lower interest rate for house building loans. Council mortgage rates were, indeed, the big electioneering point of the campaign.

Labour are cock-a-hoop at their win and are waiting impatiently for the day when they take over the government. But their chickens are by no means yet hatched.

One of the depressing features of the G.L.C. election was not simply the fact that once again the working class made it known that they are satisfied to choose between alternative ways of running capitalism. It was the simple, almost incredible, ignorance and naivety of the reasons which the voters who were inter-

viewed on radio and television gave for voting as they did.

At the moment these people are largely being fooled into voting Labour. Come the Autumn they could just as easily be fooled into voting Conservative. And while everyone is going up and down on the see-saw capitalism goes grimly on.

## POLITICS

#### Powell speaks out

Mr. Enoch Powell, who is supposed to be a very clever man, and the conscience of the Conservative Party, has been a source of embarrassment to his leaders for a long time. They must shiver, now, whenever he opens his mouth for fear of what uncomfortable revelation he will make.

But Mr. Powell is the sort of politician whose ideas have little relevance to the hard realities of administering capitalism. In this he is rather like the pacifist in the Labour Party. His speech at the beginning of last month to the East Renfrewshire Unionist Association, in which he attacked the government's attempts to direct industry to the development areas, showed what a dreamland this one time professor of Greek lives in.

If labour were perfectly mobile, said Mr. Powell, if the market were theoretically perfect, the level of unemployment would be precisely the same everywhere.

These are the sort of "ifs" which capitalism has long ago ruled out of the reckoning. Mr. Powell has said more than once that profitability should be the only motive for productive activity. The rulers of capitalism have come to realise that the profit motive is best served by a certain amount of interference with Mr. Powell's "theoretically perfect" market.

Mr. Powell himself, indeed, appears to have seen the need for this. For some time he was Minister of Health, running the National Health Service, which is anything but a "theoretically perfect" market for, say, the labour power of the doctors and for the hospital services which patients require.

Mr. Powell has yet to say that he favours a health system in which hospitals charge patients as much as they can and in which the patient is free to take his custom to the quack up the road.

Nor has he said whether he is in favour of free enterprise armed forces and local authorities.

All political parties, of course, have their wild men whose ideas, especially when they are out of office, seem extreme enough to rule them out of all chance of ever getting to the top. Aneurin Bevan is one who was once in this category. Yet if he were still alive, he would probably now be the leader of the Labour Party—and perhaps the next Prime Minister. It is certain that, if he had ever made Number Ten, he would have been a different Bevan to the man who once made the Tories' blood go cold.

By the same token we may yet see Enoch Powell at the top, complacently administering the very things which he now denounces.

## ABROAD

#### Cyprus

Anybody who is surprised at the continuing struggle in Cyprus ignores the fact that the Treaty which closed the last bout of trouble there was almost bound to break down.

The Treaty took little account of the political complications involved and, like so many of its kind, ignored the nationalistic prejudices of the island's people. Years of guerilla warfare against the British rulers, accompanied by all the usual hate propaganda and brutality from both sides, succeeded in fanning these prejudices to a dangerous temperature.

It would have taken more than a few signatures on a piece of paper to remedy this situation. So the Treaty, as is usual, simply pretended that it was not there.

But certain things are there. The age old clash of interests between Greece and Turkey, over who shall dominate the eastern Mediterranean, is there. So is the British interest in the oil and the Suez Canal and the other strategic potential of the area. And so, in the background, is the American resolve that nothing shall threaten their standing in the Middle East.

The United Nations has shown once again how ineffectual it is when it is up against the confusion of capitalist interests. As in the Congo, it has taken a long time and a lot of argument to get the pale blue flag into Cyprus. Contrast this with what happened in Korea, and later in the Lebanon, when the United States moved in against what it saw as a powerful threat and was determined to have no nonsense about keeping the peace.

The climate of Cyprus, and the eradi-

cation of the mosquito there, have made it one of the healthiest spots in the world. It is the inevitable conflict of capitalist interests, and the hate and strife which this arouses, which makes the island a place of such unpleasant memories—and promises to do so for some time in the future.

## BUSINESS

#### City & Labour Party

It is a popular misconception that a Labour victory in the Autumn will be bad for the capitalist class; that production, investment, and so on, will be less profitable and that business will, therefore, be in the doldrums.

It is true that the City generally prefers a Conservative government, but this is not to say that their professed fear of a Labour government is sensible. Business men, after all, are as capable of misjudgement as anyone else. And, anyway, there are plenty of industrial and commercial tycoons who support the Labour Party.

Robert Heller, the Business Editor of *The Observer*, has polled what he calls "influential City men" on their reactions to a possible Labour government. He reported the comments of seven of them on April 12th last.

Two of them thought that a Labour victory would be bad for business; two thought that it would have little or no effect. The other three thought that the policies of a future Labour administration would depend upon the conditions under which it took power—in particular, on the size of its majority.

Three said that investment was being held back by the prospect of a Labour government. The other four said that this prospect was having no real effect on investment.

One thought that the Stock Exchange had not adequately discounted the risks of a Labour victory—had not, in other words, sufficiently rearranged its interests so that they will remain just as profitable when Labour policies are in action. One gave no opinion on this question, but the other five were of the opinion that whatever risk there may be had been adequately discounted.

What this means is that the attitude which the capitalists are adopting to the prospect of a future Labour government is much as we might expect. Some Labour policies, they think, may be bad for some



types of business. In the same way, some of them probably think that some policies of the Conservative government have been bad—the R.P.M. Bill, the attempt to join the Common Market, and so on.

But, as Robert Heller comments:—

With certain extremely forthright exceptions, they don't regard the prospect as very dreadful. . . . Some top boardroom names not only hope but expect to carry on business as usual. (Under a Labour government).

A Wilson administration may bring some superficial differences in the overall pattern of commercial, industrial and investment affairs.

But the City still expects to be able to carry on and to show some nice profits for the shareholders.

And the City is right.

Because under a Labour government capitalism will still be there.

## Two giants

Two of the world's industrial giants reported last month.

General Motors claimed that world sales of their vehicles were 14 per cent. above the 1962 record. Their total sales

were worth nearly \$16,495 million; they paid out almost \$2,245 million in taxes and \$4,313 million in wages.

There are many GM subsidiaries in this country, among them Vauxhall Motors, which, it is claimed, plays a "significant part . . . in the British economy." Another way, this, of putting the old crack about what is good for GM being good for the U.S.A.

Imperial Chemical Industries are now in process of writing off a lot of their old plant at the pace demanded by the developing technology of the chemical industry. Their total sales last year were £508.5 million (£10 million of them to the U.S.S.R.). They plan to spend £100 million this year on capital projects.

These figures may not mean much to the people who daily commute to a £15 a week job. But they reflect something which should be obvious to everyone.

It does not take much knowledge of industry to realise that the productive processes of plants like those owned by G.M. and I.C.I. are extremely complicated and require an enormous co-operative effort to keep them flowing.

In their way, they are a testimony to man's ability to provide for himself. At the moment that ability is restricted by the anarchy of capitalism's commodity production. In a free world, in which

all men's interests were the same, the ingenuity which is evident in modern industry would make its contribution to the common good.

The tragedy today is that it goes to preserve a shareholding minority in their privilege.

When capitalism's industrial giants trumpet their achievements abroad, what they are really saying is that the skill and the co-operation of their workers has once more done its best and been exploited to the full.

## Postscript

### B.B.C. European News

"Mr. Krushchev has said that as well as the moral stimulus of Communism, workers in the Soviet Union also need the material stimulus of being able to earn more when they work harder. He told a special agricultural committee of the Communist Party Praesidium that the more workers on state farms turn out, the more they must receive. 'We must struggle resolutely against wage-leveiling,' Mr. Krushchev declared, 'and advance boldly along the path of material encouragement for quality and quantity produced'."

*From a reply to a Conservative, Mr. G. W. Daw in the SOCIALIST STANDARD, May 1914*

## 1964 Electoral Campaign

**VERY URGENT.** We wish to contest as many constituencies as we can in the next General Election. It is our hope to put at least three candidates in the field and a deposit of £150 has to be put up for each. We therefore need £450 for this alone in the next few weeks in order to be assured that, if an election takes place early this year, this sum will be in hand. In addition, we need at least another £350 to cover the cost of printing, hall hire and so on. Thus, in all, we need not less than £800. Will all those who support us and wish us well, please make a tangible gesture of such support by sending quickly as large a sum as they can to the Party Treasurer, E. Lake, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4, clearly stating that the contributions are for the Parliamentary Fund.

## Socialists and Malthus

Mr. Daw says that poverty, like disease, "originates from physical causes," in lofty indifference to the fact that he had previously said it was due to the "innate selfishness of man, etc." Now it is because "population always increases up to the limits of the means of a bare subsistence." Later we are told "Socialists as a rule evade this, as they do other fatal objections."

The statement about increases of population is taken from the parson Malthus' dirty, lying apology for Capitalism called "On Population." What Mr. Daw is apparently ignorant of is the fact that Godwin—the Utopian Socialist—whom the book was written against, wrote a reply directly after the first edition appeared that tore up every shred of so-called argument Malthus had put forward. Though Malthus lived to edit four or

five more editions and in doing so seriously altered his whole position, not once did he attempt to answer Godwin. Later on, Henry George in "Progress and Poverty," taking Godwin's work without acknowledgment as a basis, built up a case with the fuller information the intervening years supplied that crushed Malthus' book to powder.

We need only emphasize one point. Neither Malthus, nor anyone else, has ever produced a single tittle of evidence, historical or otherwise, that "population always increases up to the limits of bare subsistence."

In every age since the break-up of the tribal communes mankind has carried an idle luxurious class upon its back. That this could be possible proves there must have been a surplus above subsistence all the time.

# Why the date is important

THE Prime Minister has spoken. In the hope that the interests of the Conservative Party will be best served by an election in the Autumn, he has settled for that and the news which has been so anxiously awaited by the M.P.s who hang on to slim majorities, and not so anxiously by those who sit on a fat lead, is out.

Ever since the Profumo crisis, there has been any amount of speculation about the timing of the election. Only a short time ago, some political experts were assuring us, on information from "reliable sources," that polling day would definitely be in March. Others were equally confident that it would be in late May or June.

But there has also been a persistent story that the Prime Minister himself favoured a later date, in the hope that by then his party's tarnished image would be looking a little brighter. At the same time, it was whispered, Harold Wilson was hoping for a June election and was working on the assumption that that would happen.

Both Labour and Conservative parties attach great importance to the date of the election; for some time they have based their electoral strategy on their forecast of the date.

In passing, we may comment that the time which Douglas-Home has chosen has a certain interest. Previous Conservative Premiers have often been masters at the political game and have excelled in calling elections at a time of maximum inconvenience to their opponents, and then fighting on a craftily conceived vote-catching gimmick. Baldwin was like that and so was Macmillan. But Douglas-Home has so far done nothing to suggest that his choice of polling day has been handled any more adroitly than the other political matters which he has bungled since he took office.

This is a point of no more than academic interest. While the working class are blind enough to acquiesce in a social system in which they are governed by leaders in the interests of the capitalist class, it is of little consequence whether the leaders are politically skilful or not. Home, up to now, is one of the nots.

It is important to realise why the parties have been in such a dither over polling day. The English political constitution allows the date of an election to be flexible. This would not matter very much if the people who determine the outcome of an election were of different material. In other words, if the working class were politically more mature, the election date would be of much less significance—their votes would go the same way in March as in October, or any other month.

But the working class are not politically mature. They vote in ignorance and in docile acceptance of whatever capitalism likes to dish out to them. Some of them support the Labour Party, although they oppose Labour Party policy. (Aims of Industry claim that 32 per cent. of Labour Party supporters are opposed to more nationalisation). And the same sort of thing can be said for some of the supporters of the Tory government.

If the evidence of the Gallup Poll can be relied upon, the voting intentions of the working class change almost week by week, apparently influenced by all manner of incidents in the daily round of capitalist crisis and confusion. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that the politicians attach such importance to the date of an election. If, for example, Macmillan's government had collapsed last summer, they would probably have lost the election—for the same basically illogical reason that may win the election for Douglas-Home later this year.

In the United States, the pre-determined date of an election

means that the timing in itself does not have the same importance as over here. But this does not mean that there is any less posturing, any less dishonesty from the politicians, any less ignorance on the part of the working class. For some months before a Presidential election, some American government business almost comes to a standstill, as the two great parties concentrate their energies on the coming campaign—upon the careful statements, the devious attacks on their opponents, the loaded hand outs and promises to voters.

This sort of campaign is widely accepted by most of the people who have a vote to cast. In the same way, they expect a British Prime Minister to choose an election date to suit himself—the date on which, he thinks, the people who are foolish enough to vote for his party will outnumber those who are foolish enough to vote for the opposition.

This sort of cynicism does not damage the politician's image of a beneficent, honest man who would rather die than stoop to a low trick. It does not damage Home's image of a chivalrous aristocrat who longs to serve all of us slum dwellers and millstone mortgagees. It will not damage Wilson's image of the blunt, sensible lad from Yorkshire who learnt all about life in the days when he could not afford to wear shoes. Yet these images should be damaged—indeed, should be destroyed—by the evidence of the politician's cynicism. That they are not destroyed is just another symptom of the political backwardness of the voters.

One of the most depressing facts about an election is that very few of the millions who cast their votes seem to ask what the politicians want power for. They are generally content to accept the cynicism and the vote hunting and the politician's own assessment of themselves as humane and clever men.

Both Labour and Conservative parties claim that they are opposed to each other. The Labour Party warn us that the Tories are hard headed, ruthless men of business who care not for the problems of the under-privileged nor—now that Harold Wilson is in command—for the underpaid men of science. The Tories reply that the Labour Party is full of reckless dogmatists who will ruin the British economy for the sake of a theory and who will allow British capitalism to be bossed by flat capped trade unionists.

What truth is there in these claims? One of the issues on which Labour hopes to win votes is the rise in rents which followed the Rent Act. The figure of the rapacious landlord has always been a politically emotive one. Yet even at the time when the Act was first passed, it was apparent that a Labour government would have been compelled, to some extent, to free rents. Now from the other side, the Conservatives have stated that they are in favour of some measure of rent control. In the House of Commons on March 18th last Sir Keith Joseph, Minister of Housing, made this quite clear:—

... the Government do not intend, if returned to power, to propose, during the next Parliament, any further measure of block (rent) decontrol.

This shows how close the two parties are on this issue. There is nothing surprising about this. Housing is an essential part of working class expenditure and as such has a powerful effect upon wages. This means that rents are important enough to capitalism to ensure that the two big parties substantially agree on what should be done about them.

Then there is the favourite Tory bogey of a Labour party which will nationalise everything and drive all the employees out of business. This bogey has always been something of a laugh, especially when we recall what the last Labour government was prepared to do to keep British capitalism prosperous.



Now Sir John Hunter, chairman of the Central Training Council, has had his say on this, to the British Employers' Confederation:—

I do not subscribe to the view that a Labour Government will introduce legislation with little regard for the employers' views. On the contrary, I believe a Labour Government would listen attentively to the views expressed by employers' organisations on one condition that those views are positive and expressed clearly, forcibly and without reservation. (*Guardian*, 19/3/64.)

Both the big parties, in fact, stand for capitalism—and so do other organisations like the "Liberals," "Communists" and "Independents," who claim to be different. They stand for the social system in which war is established and persistent enough to be almost a way of life. They support the economic arrangement in which the mass of the people, who make and distribute the world's wealth, live in a horror-land of plastic, prefabricated, powdered, poverty, while a few privileged people have an income which allows them the chance to live like human beings. (In the tax year 1961/62 there were just 92 people in this country with annual incomes over £100,000).

In face of their basic agreement over the continuance of this social system, the differences between the Labour Party and its Tory opponents are quite insignificant. They are no more than differences over the details of administering a world so organised that it enables a few people to do very well indeed while the vast majority get hurt—sometimes literally so.

This is what puts the timing of the election into its perspective. What can we say about the voter who is subject to all the suppressions and frustrations of capitalism yet who will vote Labour in March, Tory in October, perhaps Labour again in January, and so on? Is there anything more foolish? More futile?

Whatever precise date the Prime Minister eventually settles for, he can rest assured that when the election is over and the next government is comfortably in the seat of power, when the newspapers are smugly congratulating everyone on what they call the exercise of democracy, he will still be Sir Alec Douglas-Home with all his property and investments. So will the rest of his class, up the top of the social tree. And somewhere down the bottom will be the people who, at any time and in all weathers, are content to keep them there.

IVAN.

## The explanation of Mr. Enoch Powell

FOR some months Mr. Enoch Powell, who resigned from Macmillan's government in 1958, along with Mr. Thorneycroft, and refused to serve with the present Prime Minister, Sir Alec Home, has enlivened the political scene with periodic outbursts of a kind most embarrassing to his own party. In January he described the policy of trying to check wages, prices and profits as hocus-pocus, and dangerous nonsense. He attacked the National Incomes Commission and National Economic Development Council and declared that their plans won't work:

We don't know how to make them work. In fact they can't work in any society which we are prepared to contemplate.

He ridiculed a pious statement made by employers' representatives on Neddly about their intention to keep prices down and told them to get on with their proper job of making as much profit as possible.

Managements have no business to accept any responsibility for prices. The duty of every management is to conduct business in the way which . . . is likely to maximise the return on the capital invested in the business.

In February he fired some more broadsides against too much government interference with the activities of private profit seekers and in April went to Glasgow to denounce government schemes to encourage firms to move into that and other areas where unemployment is above the National average level.

The *Guardian* on 4th April reported him as openly proclaiming that his Party is the Party of capitalism:—

Whatever else the Unionist Party stands for, unless it is the party of free choice, free competition and free enterprise, unless—and I am not afraid of the word—it is the party of capitalism, then it has no function in the contemporary world, then it has nothing to say in modern Britain.

The leaders of the Labour Party, seeing in this something they could use in the forthcoming election, were delighted and hastened to congratulate him on his courage and candour.

In Conservative circles he got no support, except from odd lots such as the *City Press*. His own colleagues lost no time in repudiating him and deploring his utterances—they too had an eye on the reactions of voters.

Some of them set themselves to explain the man. The *Sunday Telegraph* called him "a don with a brilliant analytical mind in the best Cambridge tradition," and an advocate of "an intellectualist version of the late Sir Waldron Smithers" the same Waldron Smithers who provided evenings of hilarious entertainment in defending capitalism and the New Testament against the SPGB.

Powell certainly has some qualities which set him above most of his fellow conservatives.

When he has an idea he does not at all mind pursuing it logically to its conclusion no matter how distressing this may be to his party. After he resigned in 1958 he roundly attacked the Keynesian doctrines that have for so long been the fashion not only in Labour and Liberal circles but also among the economists in the Tory Party.

But it is true that he suffers, as one critic said, from a certain political innocence—he does not appreciate that as capitalism depends for its continuance on the deception of working class voters, it is expedient that certain dangerous truths should never be stated by those who do not want to end capitalism.

If Powell's own statements were lucid and straightforward the reactions to them were remarkable, chiefly for contradiction and confusion. The Labour politicians and Peers seized on them as proof that the Tory Party is opposed to "planning," forgetting that one of his principle criticisms of Mac-

## CORRESPONDENCE

To the Editor,

In a recent addition of *SOCIALIST STANDARD* I read of your hopes of winning the next General Election and I wish you luck. But remembering that you have to take an oath of allegiance to the Crown, I wonder whether this is the only way to achieve a Socialist State. One should not forget what happened to Russia in 1905 and Spain in 1936.

Let us trust that your majority in Parliament will not become a 'Captain' of Köpenik with ten soldiers' and cast you out.

I would be obliged if you could settle my doubts in your next issue.

J. WEBBER.

Copenhagen.

REPLY

Mr. Weber has started off on the wrong foot. We are solely concerned with the establishment of Socialism. This cannot be obtained until a majority of the workers want it and work for it. Neither in Russia in 1905 nor in Spain in 1936 did the workers vote for Socialism—because they did not understand what it implied and therefore did not want it.

Once the workers do understand and want Socialism, and without this Socialism cannot be established, then they will vote delegates to Parliament to take control of political power for the sole purpose of establishing Socialism.

If Mr. Weber will read clause 6 of our Declaration of Principles again he will see it points out that the armed forces of the nation are controlled through Parlia-

ment, the centre of political power. Once the workers obtain a majority in Parliament, for the purpose of establishing Socialism, they will have control of the armed forces and no captain with ten soldiers will be able to disperse them.

As far as the oath of allegiance is concerned it has little more significance than taking off your hat, if you wear one, when you enter the house of an opponent; or the boxers shaking hands before they set out to batter each other to pieces. Towards the end of last century Irish nationalists, who were openly committed to cut adrift from England, nevertheless took the oath of allegiance because that was the only way they could get into Parliament to carry out their purpose.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

millan's and Home's policies is that there is too much planning. As recently as November last the Labour Party journal, *Socialist Commentary*, under the title "All Socialists Now," instanced the action of the Ministry of Housing in planning a large-scale rebuilding plan for Fulham as proof that "no one can any longer oppose that . . . socialist concept—planning."

It was, however, Mr. Thorneycroft (who had resigned with Powell in 1958, but is now back in office) who made the most curious contribution. Declaring Powell's view—that "the Conservative party must offer the capitalist system to the public, or nothing," Thorneycroft answered that "The Tory party is a great deal bigger than the capitalist system."

Logically this is an absurdity. How can the party which administers capitalism in order to preserve it, be greater than the system itself? Thorneycroft was not being candid. What he really meant, but could not say, is that those whose purpose it is to persuade the workers to go on accepting capitalism knew very well that they cannot do this in the somewhat odious name of capitalism itself, but have succeeded in doing it by calling on the workers to vote for capitalism's facade, the Tory party and its so-called "Welfare State."

But this is not peculiar to the Tory party. It covers all the governing parties all over the world and all the Opposition parties straining to replace them and carry on the same function with minor modifications. In spite of a few Enoch Powell's here and in other countries, capitalism is now administered over most of the earth's surface in the name of "Socialism." Attlee, who was Labour Prime Minister from 1945-51 set the pattern. Having written in 1937 that "a Socialist party cannot hope to make a success of administering the capitalist system because it does not believe in it," he spent six years trying to do just that while pretending to do something else. Stalin, Krushchev, Mao and the rest

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## Labour's young lions

THE recent conference of the youth section of the Labour Party, the so-called Young Socialists, at Brighton, has again rejected the official party policy on many important issues. There are signs that the young Socialists have now become an embarrassment to the Labour Party as was the League of Youth in the past. The Labour Party has always been unfortunate with its youth sections. They have always been captured by extremists. In the thirties it was the Communists; today it is the Trotskyists.

Trotskyist theory places great emphasis on leadership and slogans. It is their policy to take up the demands of any discontented group and to try to lead their struggle. The Young Socialists have been an easy target for them. In fact it is only here that their policy of boring from within has had any success. The youth sections of all "left-wing" parties tend to be more "radical" than the main party.

When the blatant vote-catching manoeuvres of the leadership of the Labour Party are considered it is not really surprising that the Young Socialists have gone the way they have. They don't like what they see but have not the political experience to explain it. It is young people in this frame of mind that the Trotskyists approach with criticism and an alternative policy. They move in and organise the discontented members.

There are at present four or five Trotskyist and similar groups operating in the Young Socialist movement. This in itself is noteworthy. For Young Socialist branches have tended to back the group which approached them first, though changes occur through the process of splitting to which the Trotskyist groupings are particularly liable. The most influential of these is *Keep Left* which the Labour Party has already proscribed. This takes the same line as the Socialist Labour League, the main British Trotskyist group, and has a clandestine organisation within the Young Socialists. There are other Trotskyist groups opposed to *Keep Left* in Liverpool, Nottingham, Glasgow and South Wales. Then there is Young Guard, which has a following in London and amongst students. Strictly speaking, this is not Trotskyist—its Trotskyist wing recently broke away—but it has the same technique of "boring from within."

An amusing aspect of all this is the factionalism and the disagreements between the various groups. The leaders of the boring-from-within groups—Healy, Grant, and others—are all older men who have been in the Trotskyist movement for twenty to thirty years. They fell out with each other soon after the Revolutionary Communist Party was dissolved in the late 1940's. The basic differences were over the nature of the Russian system and various theses of Pablo, a leader of the Fourth International, on Eastern Europe. These quarrels have been transferred lock, stock and barrel to the Young Socialist organisation. Wherever their branches meet these obscure differences are aired and the whole Trotskyist library of abuse is brought out—centrist, revisionist, Pabloite, elitist, Stalinist, Kronstadt, etc., etc. Added to this are stories and rumours of how the members of the groups have behaved at various conferences; how they allied themselves with the Right Wing; how particular groups have organised too many socials and dances. All this together with secret meetings and visions of armed uprisings may be good for laughs but has nothing to do with Socialism.

Generally speaking the members of these factions spend more time arguing against each other and Party officials than anything else. Such is the experience of boring from within. If Socialists were to join the Labour Party they too would be

forced into petty disputes to the detriment of Socialist propaganda even if this were allowed. The Young Socialist Movement may have been easy to infiltrate but it has no power to do anything. When its members face the working class they do so as members of the Labour Party and on its programme. They do not control their own journal. They cannot campaign on their own programme. They have to campaign for a Western nuclear deterrent and for immigration control and for other policies which their conference has rejected. To campaign on any other programme is to render themselves liable to expulsion. This is the whole futility of boring from within. Inside the supposedly mass party your time is taken up with quarrels with bureaucrats; outside you campaign on their programme.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain holds that Socialism can only be established by a Socialist working class. Hence the chief task of Socialists can only be to make their fellow workers Socialist. We hold that this can best be done by campaigning for Socialism and Socialism alone. To do otherwise is to get the support of non-Socialists and eventually to cease to be a Socialist party altogether. We accept the doctrine of the class struggle and base our policy on it. Thus we refuse to compromise with other political parties which, including the Labour Party, can only stand for Capitalism.

It is sometimes argued that the way to make Socialists is to back the demands of politically ignorant workers and show them that these demands can't be realised without getting rid of Capitalism. But this is an odd way of going about things. Why not tell the workers straight off that they're going down a blind alley? Why bother to lead them down it just to show them it is a blind alley? The logic of this is that the working class should try out all wrong policies just to see that they are wrong. We reject such nonsensical doctrine. But once this doctrine is rejected then the case for entryism falls to the ground. There is no longer any need to make a principle of leading workers down blind alleys because you think it will benefit them.

Nor does it make sense to argue that Socialists should work within the Labour Party because it is "the mass party of the working class." If the Labour Party is a mass working class party then so is the Conservative Party for just as many workers vote Conservative as Labour. But even if the Labour Party were supported by the vast majority of workers this would still be no reason for joining it. Such workers would not be Socialists. It would still be the duty of Socialists to oppose the Labour Party and to point out its non-Socialist character. An independent Socialist party would still be necessary to spread Socialist ideas.

Basically, however, the Trotskyists don't accept the need for Socialist understanding. They are more interested in leading ignorant masses. This is perhaps why they have been successful among the Young Socialists. The ordinary Young Socialist member has little knowledge of politics. He is merely discontented. The Trotskyists have channelled and assumed the leadership of this discontent. Thus arguments which we have heard many times before appear in Marxist and Trotskyist terms. But behind the words there is no understanding. The ordinary Trotskyist follower does not understand the principles of Socialism—some are even religious—he does not realise he is being used by a bunch of experienced political manipulators who have failed to gain a following elsewhere.

Some good may yet come from this confusion and

[continued bottom next page]

## The rehabilitation of Pavel Dybenko

EVER since the death of Stalin, the rulers of Russia and of the farcically named Peoples Democracies have been engaged in a new industry—the rehabilitation of ghosts from their murky past. So far they have not actually succeeded in bringing back to life one of Stalin's murdered victims, but, no doubt, they are working on that; while another feature is that the bones which are now moved up to the more desirable plots in the cemeteries are always those of Communists—and usually Stalinist Communists at that. So far there is no sign of life from Trotsky, Bukharin, Zinoviev and all the other Bolshevik victims of the grisly thirties let alone any of the countless swarms of anti-Bolsheviks and non-Bolsheviks. Presumably they must rot unhonoured and unmourned.

It may be instructive to take a look at a recent example of the rehabilitation business, that of Pavel Dybenko. As the papers were not slow to point out, added interest attaches to this case because Dybenko was the basis of one of the important and tragic characters in a famous work of fiction—Koestler's *Darkness at Noon*, a novel about the purge trials of the Stalin Terror (a book that is well worth reading even though its central thesis, that the false confessions made by leading Bolsheviks before being butchered were the result of ideological devotion to the Soviet system at all costs, was false; as Krushchev has since shown, the simple explanation was quite good enough—they were extracted by brute force and barbaric torture). But apart from that, the case of Dybenko is of fascinating interest in that it shows the degeneration of a hero who has hitched his wagon to a false star and therein lies a lesson about the falsity of the old maxim—"the end justifies the means."

Dybenko first became news in 1915 when, as an ordinary sailor, he led a mutiny on a Tsarist warship on the Black Sea and it was, therefore, not surprising when he figured prominently in the fighting in Petrograd in the 1917 Revolution. He was by then a leader of the rebellious sailors of Kronstadt, the famous naval station near the then Russian capital (now Leningrad). The very name of Kronstadt has a terrible irony in this context. Dybenko led the sailors in their revolt against Tsarism, an undoubted tyranny, but he and his comrades used their strength to help the Bolsheviks overturn both the Tsarist tyranny and the Provisional "Liberal" government of Kerensky and substitute an iron dictatorship of the Communist Party whose yoke is still firmly around the neck of the Russian proletariat to this day.

From this stage the story of Dybenko takes a bizarre turn. After the Bolshevik victory in November, 1917 (with its accompanying massacre of the young cadets and the women soldiers in the Winter Palace along with the murder in a prison hospital of two defenceless members of the Provisional Government) the next stage was the calling in January, 1918, of the Constituent Assembly which the Bolsheviks had, not without some justification, accused the Government of delaying.

Labour's Young Lions, continued from page 78

ignorance. Some young people may be led to study the principles of Socialism and to think beyond the slogan level. Already ideas on Russia, nationalization and leadership which we have been expressing for decades are being discussed in some sections of the Young Socialists. We have something to contribute to these discussions. After all, we pioneered the view that Russia is State capitalist; we said even before nationalization was implemented that it would not benefit the

From all corners of Russia the delegates came to the Parliament which was going to give Russia its new democratic government. But there was a flaw. The new Parliament had an anti-Bolshevik majority and elected an anti-Bolshevik chairman. This sort of democracy did not suit Lenin and the Bolsheviks who had control of the armed forces in Petrograd, so the Assembly was broken up—an inglorious end to the first relatively free election in Russia's tragic history and, of course, the last.

But whilst the sailors of Kronstadt contributed to the Bolshevik victory, they soon came to realise that they had blundered; that there was no semblance of liberty or democracy in the regime they had helped to create. In due course this led to the Kronstadt mutiny of 1921, the last open act of defiance by any Russian body of men against the new tyranny. This mutiny posed serious problems for the Communists and for Trotsky, their commander-in-chief, for the Kronstadt sailors were strong both in arms and men and in addition they had the revolutionary prestige attaching to the heroes of 1917. The problem was duly solved by the classical mixture of force and fraud that is inevitably used by ruling cliques whenever their position is threatened, whether they call themselves Communist or anything else. And who were the leaders of the Red Army which crushed the mutiny? Firstly General (later Marshal) Tukhachevsky and, at his right hand, the same Pavel Dybenko who had formerly been the outstanding figure among the sailors but who was now a member of the ruling clique and the husband of the famous Bolshevik Madame Kollontai. And it is instructive to note that all this took place not under Stalin, the so-called betrayer of the Revolution, but in the heyday of Trotsky and of Lenin himself.

The subsequent story of our "hero" only shows the sad progress of his decline into a vicious instrument of tyranny. He became the President of the Military Court—one of Stalin's hanging judges. And his most famous victim in that role? None other than the same Marshal Tukhachevsky with whom he had helped to crush the sailors of Kronstadt. The Marshal, who had become the C-in-C of the Red Army, had fallen foul of Stalin's megalomaniac fury and himself became a sacrifice to the executioner along with his wife and family—a grisly monument to Stalin's "Communism" which, of course, evoked never a bleat of protest from the Communist Parties of Great Britain and the other western countries.

Finally Dybenko, having betrayed and butchered his former comrades in the service of this monstrous travesty of Communism, himself found that he was caught in the net and in 1938 duly paid with his life in the Stalinist blood-bath. The lesson of all this bloodshed and double-dealing? Surely, none other than that no amount of heroism and even of sincerity (for it is certain that people like Dybenko at first believed in the rightness of their actions) can bring Socialism in a world where, as in Russia, the mass of the people do not understand or

working class; it has been a principle of our organization from its foundation in 1904 that the working class doesn't need any leaders and must emancipate itself. It is not boasting, but a historical fact, that we have been consistently correct in our attitude to political issues. Those who are interested in politics do themselves a disservice if they ignore our case.

A. L. B.



want it. The idea that a minority of Communists could lead the uneducated masses into the promised land was condemned as dangerous futility in these pages nearly 50 years ago. And how tragically the Russian workers have paid in blood and suffering for their folly.

And what of the present? Does anyone really believe that Krushchev is leading the Russian State Capitalist machine towards Socialism? Why, only recently he was quoted as denouncing the principle of equality in wages which had always been an ostensible goal of the Bolsheviks, and defending "differentials" (and what differentials!) like any good capi-

talist. And whom does his regime rehabilitate when it condemns the days of Stalin? Democratic heroes? No. Communist murderers, the victims of other Communist murderers. And still the repression goes on—as the executions for "economic crimes" and the continued barbaric imprisonment of people like the mistress of the writer Pasternak, and her daughter, abundantly testify.

One day, in Russia as in the rest of the world, there will be a Socialist revolution. But it will take place as a result of a majority of thinking Socialists deciding to end the capitalist regimes in all countries, not least in the Soviet Union.

L. WEIDBERG.

## Branch News

Conference this year was satisfactory as far as business was concerned, all items on the Agenda were dealt with and discussion by the delegates was interesting and most useful. It is regretted that all branches were not represented, but despite this the delegation was enthusiastic and lively. A report from the Central Organiser on the finance of the Social on Saturday evening stated that there was a balance in hand of £8 5s. 9d. after all expenses, including the cost of one or two of the raffle prizes. Several prizes were donated by Comrades.

The Central Organiser is surprised that the number attending the dance and social was not very great, he points out that Easter Saturday night gives an excellent opportunity for Comrades and friends to relax and chat, particularly as many provincial members are present who don't often have an opportunity to meet London comrades. He reminds us that it is not essential to dance—dancing is only part of the social evening and it is hoped that next year's Conference Social will prove him wrong and that many more comrades will gather at the Annual Social and Dance. Three collections were taken up during the business time of Conference and Comrades responded very generously, in all over £13 was collected.

The Canteen Committee did wonderful work, as they so often do, and were providing food and drinks (tea and coffee!) throughout the Conference and Social. Their work adds to the success of every conference, and in addition to feeding everybody, made a credit balance, handed to the Treasurer of £12 5s. 3d. The Canteen Committee wish to thank members for their contributions, support and assistance.

The Sunday evening meeting was good and Comrade Vanni from Glasgow was on the platform to address the meeting. Following the Conference, on Easter Monday, Paddington Branch organised, with the Propaganda Committee and Literature Sales Committee, an all-out literature drive at the CND Rally in Trafalgar Square. General literature sales realised £6 10s. 8d. and

individual Comrades who took their own branch literature sold £1 11s. worth. A Donation of 6s. 4d. was collected. The grand total of literature sold was £8 3s. 2d. This included 232 copies of the Socialist Standard. All this despite miserable rainy weather. The Central Organiser wishes to thank everybody who "did their stint".

At the Labour Party Rally at the Albert Hall on the Sunday, the Literature Sales committee assisted by other comrades sold four dozen Socialist Standards. An excellent result, but it was felt that had more comrades been available, much more literature would have been sold. Such occasions are well worth the attendance of many, many comrades to sell literature as this is a way in which the Socialist message is propagated and also the more Socialist Standards that are sold, the cheaper the production cost and this is a very important factor. The Literature Sales Committee will be pleased to advise Comrades when such rallies are being

attended—it is a really worth while job—selling Socialist literature.

A debate was held at the Co-op Hall, Ilkeston on Sunday, February 23rd. Comrade Cook from Birmingham was the Party representative and he debated with a member of the Liberal Party. The audience numbered 20 and of this number 10 were Party members. No serious opposition was offered by our opponent who apparently found it difficult to make her third contribution. Comrade Cook decided in the circumstances to forego his final speech and questions and discussion followed instead. This was to the Party's advantage since the great majority of questions were directed to Comrade Cook. The meeting was advertised in the local press. 10s. of literature was sold then a collection of £1 was taken up.

Many meetings and Party activity are advertised in this issue, support for meetings by as many comrades as possible is essential to make these activities successful.

P. H.

## Companion Parties

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

## FREDDIE LANE

It is with regret that Paddington Branch report the death of Freddie Lane, who joined the Party in 1951. In his early years in the Branch he devoted much of his time to literature selling, and had a regular number of SOCIALIST STANDARD contacts on the Queens Park Estate. Every Sunday he would be seen at Hyde Park with Party literature, and he was well known to many Party contacts and sympathisers. He was always keen and anxious to talk about Socialism to everyone.

Over the last four years he suffered from very bad health, and could only get out when the weather was fine. Despite this, right up to the month of his death he was selling literature and supporting our platform in Hyde Park.

He will be sadly missed.

## Behind the dry statistics

If there is one person I would very much like to meet, it is the Registrar General.

To most people, I suspect, the statistics which are regularly sucked into Somerset House, to be whirled around there until they come out in the Registrar General's report, are the dulllest things on earth. Yet in fact those statistics can tell a vital, exciting—and sometimes depressing—story of how we live, work, get married, bear children, fall ill and die. What effect, I wonder do they have upon the Registrar General?

Does he fume, after reporting the latest lung cancer deaths, at advertisements which say that the only thing a cigarette will give a man is satisfaction—and a nuzzling from a glamorous girl? Does he shake his head over the "with it" younger marriages, and sigh at the shocks and disappointments which the future must hold for so many tender, starry-eyed kids?

What, I should like to know, did he think of the suicide figures in his last report? In the seven Metropolitan boroughs which have a high suicide rate there are also a lot of what are officially called "one person households," although you and I would call them bed-sitters. Now these two facts may be unconnected; it may be a coincidence that people who live in bed-sitters in areas like Chelsea, Holborn and Hampstead are more likely to put an end to their life than other people. But to anyone who has ever been the person in the "one person household" it must be likely that the opposite is true.

For a number of years I lived in a house in Ealing which was split up into bed-sitters. From what I remember of that place, I would never be surprised to hear that one of its tenants had added himself to the Registrar General's suicide figures. The house was a big, heavy square place with a crumbling, almost paintless, exterior. The hall was moderately pleasant, with what could have been a graceful staircase, but the higher up the stairs you went the darker, the mustier and the more depressing it became. Over everything there was the dead hand of neglect and the hopelessness of a last refuge. Apart from myself and one young Irish girl, the people who lived there were middle aged.

The house was owned by Mrs. Q., an old lady who lived in another, larger, smarter house in the same road where she collected our rents and distributed the weekly parcels of laundry. I soon discovered that it was advisable to settle with Mrs. Q., on a Saturday morning; she was fond of her Friday evening glass of port

and when she had had too much she became embarrassingly voluble and difficult to get away from.

Apart from this, Mrs. Q. did not worry her tenants. If she had any complaints about us she would leave querulous notes, written in her shaky hand on ragged pieces of brown paper, on the hallstand. "Will the tenant who is leaving an electricity fire on all days . . ." or "One tenant is leaving the bath dirty afterwards. . ." (I could plead not guilty to this last complaint with an easy conscience—I never managed to persuade the bathroom geyser to work and, after wrestling with it for about a quarter of an hour, used to endure a stand up cold both while the geyser, I am sure, grinned at me from its corroded corner).

There was one room, on the top floor, which Mrs. Q. always kept padlocked. One day I noticed that the padlock was hanging open on the hasp and, unable to resist it, I crept through the doorway. Thick dust was everywhere, over the pieces of furniture and bric-a-brac which lay around. The room was suffused with the odour of decay. On a table was some delicate glassware and a toilet set of solid silver, unused in its hide case. There was also a yellowed picture of Mrs. Q. when she was a young girl, standing beside a stern, upright man with forbidding moustaches and black eyes. Somewhere beneath the rot and the dust there was, I knew, a lot of history in that room—a history of a girlhood which ended to the throb of gunfire and the crunching soldiers' feet and the collapse of an era. But it suddenly seemed a pity to disturb it and, anyway, Mrs. Q. might come up and catch me. So I came out.

The other tenants, if I may say so, were a curious lot. In the street they were unexceptionally respectable—all collar and tie and sober trilby. But they had some queer ways and not the queerest was their reluctance to come face to face with you in the house. My room was on the third floor and often, as I came downstairs, I would see a door on a landing below me open, only to close again as whoever was behind it realised that someone was coming downstairs. I wondered, at first, what it was that made them so afraid to meet each others' eye indoors—in the street they usually smiled and said hello. But I stopped asking myself that question when I found that I had caught the habit. In the end I was going to ridiculous lengths to avoid meeting my fellow tenants.

Those people were very much alone and by all their standards—good job, friends,

marriage—they were failures. But they had to put up a show of being busy, wanted. One of them had this so badly that he could not walk down the street without stopping every few seconds to look into his inside pocket, or peer down to see whether his shoelace was undone, or stare up at a passing aeroplane. Perhaps he really had nothing to do and nowhere to go, but the last thing he wanted anyone to think was that he was walking aimlessly down the street.

Some of the tenants used to play the same sort of game in the local Joe Lyons, sitting all evening over the same cup of tea, looking expectantly around them, trying to appear as if they were waiting for someone. But nobody ever came and when the teashop closed they went back to Mrs. Q.'s dismal gas rings.

It was especially bad for them at the weekend and during holidays. Christmas, which they presumably all believed to be a festival of warm congregation, must have been a torture for them. They must have welcomed the return to work, to release them from the agonies of leisure.

Perhaps that house has imprinted too lasting an impression on me. I read T. S. Eliot:—

For I have known them all already,  
known them all—  
Have known the evening, mornings,  
afternoons,  
I have measured out my life with coffee  
spoons.

And again:—

One thinks of all the hands  
That are raising dingy shades  
In a thousand furnished rooms,

and I am back in the brown walls and the smell of dust, among those miserable, unwanted people who were afraid to face even themselves with their own problems. They sat waiting for them to disappear in the steam of the teashop or tried to hide them in the shadows which Mrs. Q.'s low wattage lamps threw among the junk shop furniture in their rooms. But the problems stayed and were always there to greet them when they came back from Lyons or from the walk around the Common.

Most people, I suspect again, will think that we are over simplifying when we say that Socialism will end such problems. Loneliness, failure, suicide—these, they think, are personal matters with no relation to society at large. But in this they are wrong and the Registrar General's figures say that they are.

Capitalism today dominates our lives. For its own needs it has erected enor-



mous cities, concentrating its means of production and administration into great ugly, airless wedges of bricks and mortar and cramming its hapless peoples into these deserts. It has no interest in these people except when they are working or when they are threatening the smooth profitability of the system by falling ill or by breaking its laws—or perhaps by committing suicide. As long as we turn up for the stint at the bench, or at the desk, capitalism is satisfied. The beauty—if that is the word—of capitalism is that our masters only buy our ability to work, and that for only a certain time. For the rest, nobody need care. Our private life is our own; and while this may have its advantages, in some ways our lives are perhaps too much our own, perhaps too private. Wedged in our own little respectable, private life, we can also be desperately lonely in a city breathing ten million people.

Capitalism has raised respectability—

temperance, orthodoxy, subservience—onto a pedestal and it has glorified prosperity. For so many people the ultimate degradation is to become poor, to lose what they call class, to be looked down upon. They struggle to be respectable citizens and to hide their true poverty under their mediocrity. They struggle like this in their semi-detached villas on the garden estates. They struggle in the flats and the prefabs and they struggle, too, in the seedy bed-sitters. They are fighting losing battles.

Perhaps it could happen one Sunday afternoon in early Spring, with the sky grey and cold and no leaves yet upon the trees. It has been a long fight, this struggle to appear respectable, occupied, wanted; you have not given up even in the teashop, even under the dull lamp in your room. But this afternoon, somehow, it is all too much. Your head aches. The hot tea is sharp and stale and lies

queasily in your stomach. There is no promise anywhere, only tomorrow and tomorrow when you are released back into the office, into the filing and the endless shuffling of papers.

You leave the table and walk in a dream across the Common to the grim house, to the musty carpets, the brown doors and your silent, waiting room. You stand with your back against the door and contemplate the monster of your own reality, squatting in every shadow thrown by the glimmering bulb. Suddenly it is all clear. There is no more need to pretend and it is such a relief. The monster emerges from the shadows and you greet him now because he is a friend. There is nothing left for it but to lock the door, stuff up the keyhole and the cracks around the window, turn on the gas and settle into Mrs. Q.'s broken chair waiting to become another digit in the periodical returns of the Registrar General.

IVAN.

## The passing show

*Young—in a hurry—going nowhere*

Old age is no criterion of wisdom. Neither is youth. This point at least is worth noting from the fourth national conference of *The Young Socialists*—a misnomer to start with—the Labour Party's second offspring, and somewhat more bad tempered and difficult to bring up than the old *League of Youth* ever was.

Held appropriately enough at the Corn Exchange, Brighton, over the Easter weekend, the conference had before it an agenda of no less than one hundred and sixty-six resolutions and forty-five amendments. The subjects ranged far and wide, from a plea to change the parent party's name to "The Social Democratic Party" to attract middle class support (Resn. 9), to a demand that May Day be legislated a public holiday by the next Labour government (Resn. 166).

If we are to judge by the press reports it was a stormy conference indeed, with Mrs. Braddock at one stage pitting her mighty lungs against jeers from the floor. The results of the voting on all the resolutions is neither here nor there; the agenda itself is fitting evidence of the hotch-potch of confusion which the Labour Party has sired in its young. "Let us

nationalize the arms industry," is the plea from a number of branches—cold comfort to the poor devil whose life is ended by a government-made bullet instead of one made in a private arms factory (under government contract). And of course, we are treated to the usual stuff about support for U.N.O. and world government, both of them conspicuous non-starters from the word "go!"

Nationalize banks, building societies, land, basic industries; don't go to Spain for your holidays (your tourist revenue helps bolster the Franco oppression, they say); review the penal system; abolish capital punishment, blood sports, the Monarchy, House of Lords, and smoking in public places. The list is formidable as these boys and girls lay about them with misguided ferocity. Just about everything comes under the hammer—everything except the Capitalist system, the thing which really matters. According to press reports, the Trotskyist element was prominent at the conference, and the only result of their efforts at "boring from within" has been the addition of their own ignorance and confusion to that already existing.

*Futility of the Welfare State*

Socialists were never impressed by the

extravagant claims made for the ideas of the Welfare State by the various parties in 1945. By then, we had already issued a couple of pamphlets analysing the Beveridge plan and the proposals for family allowances, and we said that they would make no essential difference to the workers' position as the exploited section of the population. Because of this, we felt sure that the worry and insecurity that is life for most of us, would continue. Social security was in fact a gigantic misnomer.

Nineteen years and almost five elections later, we still see no need to alter our claim. The Labour Government's measures were pushed quickly through parliament and have been the basic structure on which later governments have worked. Yet here was deputy Labour leader George Brown telling us, in a radio broadcast on April 7th, of the insufficiency of hospitals and other vital things (he blamed the Tories of course). The plight of the old age pensioners has been a scandal for years, and the housing problem weighs as oppressively as ever on workers. The welfare state has not—could not—change the basic poverty position of the working class, although this would perhaps, be contested by the superficial observer.

## New States—old story

We live in an age of newly rising capitalist states. The years since the end of the second world war have seen the emergence of Israel, Indonesia, Ghana, and many others in Africa and the Far East. Often after a bitter struggle, the older powers have had to give way to the rising nationalists and hand over control of their former colonies. The winning of political freedom has been the green light for the development of native ruling classes, who have not been slow to consolidate their power, at times with an urgent ruthlessness which would have won the admiration of a Hitler or a Stalin. And in this, they have, of course, applied some of the lessons which they learned from their erstwhile oppressors.

So the British and French empires are no more, and as the new states gain influence, this will have some effect at least on the balance of power in the world of capitalism. Ghana, for instance, has made approaches to other West African states, and it is said that Nkrumah is aim-

ing at a federation with himself as its political leader, it goes without saying. All the same, it would be unwise to assume that the influence of the old powers has come to an end, because whatever abuse may be hurled occasionally from the petulant Nkrumah, Tshombe and others, they have to face the fact that they cannot exist in isolation from the outside world. That world is already the market in which they sell their exports, comparatively small though they are at present. It will become more and more important to them as time goes by.

But until then, and in preparation for that day, a great deal of development will be going on, for which capital investment will be needed in large measure, and it is here that the business men of the old world will see their chance. There is a sort of mutual wooing between them and the new states anxious to attract capital which their own ruling class are not yet rich enough to provide. So this is the sort of background against which we must set the Ghanaian president's statement to his parliament on March 10th, that £540 millions of the £1,016 millions for the seven years development plan will be from private investors:—

He stressed that his government had no desire to limit private investment in Ghana. Foreign investors were welcome and could earn their profits here, "provided they leave us an agreed portion for promoting the welfare and happiness of our people as a whole as against the greedy ambitions of the few". (*Guardian*, 11.3.64.)

He went on to mention the part played by the American Kaiser group of companies in the Volta hydro-electric scheme and by loans from Britain, America and the World Bank. So we can confidently ignore the president's lying claims, made almost in the same breath, that Ghana is a Socialist country.

Now take a look elsewhere in Africa. In the Autumn, Northern Rhodesia will become independent, and one British textile firm at least must be very pleased about it, having secured an order from Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's United National Independence Party for 1½ million yards of gaily coloured cloth for the national dress. The printed cloth will bear the inscription "Freedom and Labour," which shows the ideas that the nationalists have in mind for their native workers.

And in Kenya, too, the British government is busy negotiating financial deals which, in the words of Mr. Kenyatta, will provide the capital for diversifying Kenya's economy and reducing its de-

pendence on agriculture as a source of income. There is also the question of military aid here, which goes to show that the area is still of strategic importance to the British capitalist class. Quite clearly in the modern world, there are other means of keeping fingers in the old colonial pies besides direct political control. It is not just a coincidence, after all, that there is a large amount of foreign capital invested in India; for example, the bulk of it British.

But the larger powers were not the only ones to have lost territories abroad, and if we look further east to Indonesia, a former Dutch possession, we will see the same sort of process going on there, too. The Indonesian Republic was born in a welter of blood and violence. In 1958 all Dutch property was confiscated, but now there are signs of a reconciliation between the two sides, hastened no doubt by the emergence of the hostile next door neighbour, the Malaysian Federation.

*The Guardian* of March 19th tells us how anxious the Indonesians are to resume trade with Holland and to encourage investment. This is a case which is perhaps different from the others we have mentioned in that the place had been developed industrially to some extent under the Dutch, and their help is needed to undo the dilapidation which set in after their withdrawal. Nevertheless, the same basis is there—that of a set of native rulers who are in the saddle and mean to stay there, but who need economic bolstering from outside, at least until their industries get working and their workers have been adequately trained.

What will happen after that is anybody's guess. Perhaps there will be another attempt to grab all foreign assets, but this will depend in part anyway on the economic and military line-ups at the time. After all, Russia has not been inactive there all these years, and recently, China has been putting out feelers as well. It should certainly be interesting, then, to watch the progress of the new post-war capitalist states.

And what of the workers in these places? Certainly they have given plenty of support to the creation of their home-grown oppressors, and are showing all the signs of being just as nationalistic as their brothers elsewhere. But the bitter lesson will have to be learnt sooner or later, that the swapping of one set of masters for another of perhaps darker skin will not alter their fundamental position. When they find that they have to fight for better wages and conditions, they will clash with the very politicians to whom they once gave such willing and enthusiastic support. A new social system is the only worthwhile proposition—that is the biggest lesson of all for them to learn.

E. T. C.

E. T. C.



**SUNDAY MAY 3rd**  
**3 pm**  
**TRAFALGAR SQUARE**  
**MAY DAY**  
**DEMONSTRATION**

**BROMLEY MEETINGS**

Bromley Library,  
 Bromley High Street  
 Friday, May 8th, 8 pm  
**DEBATE WITH INDEC**  
 See page 70

**WEMBLEY**

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
 Harrow Road, Wembley

Monday, 4th May, 8 pm  
**THE RUBBER INDUSTRY**  
 Speaker: J. Carter

Monday, 25th May, 8 pm  
**HONEST TO GOD**  
 Speaker: J. Law

**ISLINGTON**

Co-op Hall,  
 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7  
 (near Finsbury Park Tube)

Thursday, May 14th, 8 pm  
**MYTHS & THEIR SOCIAL  
 IMPLICATIONS**  
 Speaker: R. Ambridge

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE**

Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
 (near Marylebone Road and Tube)  
 Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

**BROMLEY**

Robert Whyte Hall, 32 London Road  
 Friday May 1st, 8 pm  
**MAY DAY RALLY**  
 Speakers: E. Grant, C. May

**NOTTINGHAM**

**RALLY**  
 Sunday, 3rd May  
 Market Square, 3 pm and 6 pm

**GLASGOW**

Sunday 3rd May

Rally 2.30 p.m.  
 Queens Park Recreation Ground

Indoor meeting 7.30 p.m.

**"ABOLISH THE WAGES  
 SYSTEM"**

McLellan Galleries  
 Sauchiehall Street

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist  
 Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street,  
 London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son,  
 Ltd. (T.O.) 37 Banner Street, London E.C.1.

**ANY QUESTIONS MEETING**

Organised by  
 West London, Bloomsbury,  
 and Paddington Branches

Friday 15th May, 8 pm  
 Small Conway Hall  
 Red Lion Square, W.C.1

**DEBATE WITH NEW  
 LIBERALS OF ISLINGTON**  
 See June Standard for details

**SOCIALIST MEETINGS****LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS**

**Sundays:**  
 Hyde Park, 3 pm  
 East Street, Walworth.  
 May 3rd (1 pm)  
 May 10th and 24th (noon)  
 May 17th and 31st (11 am)

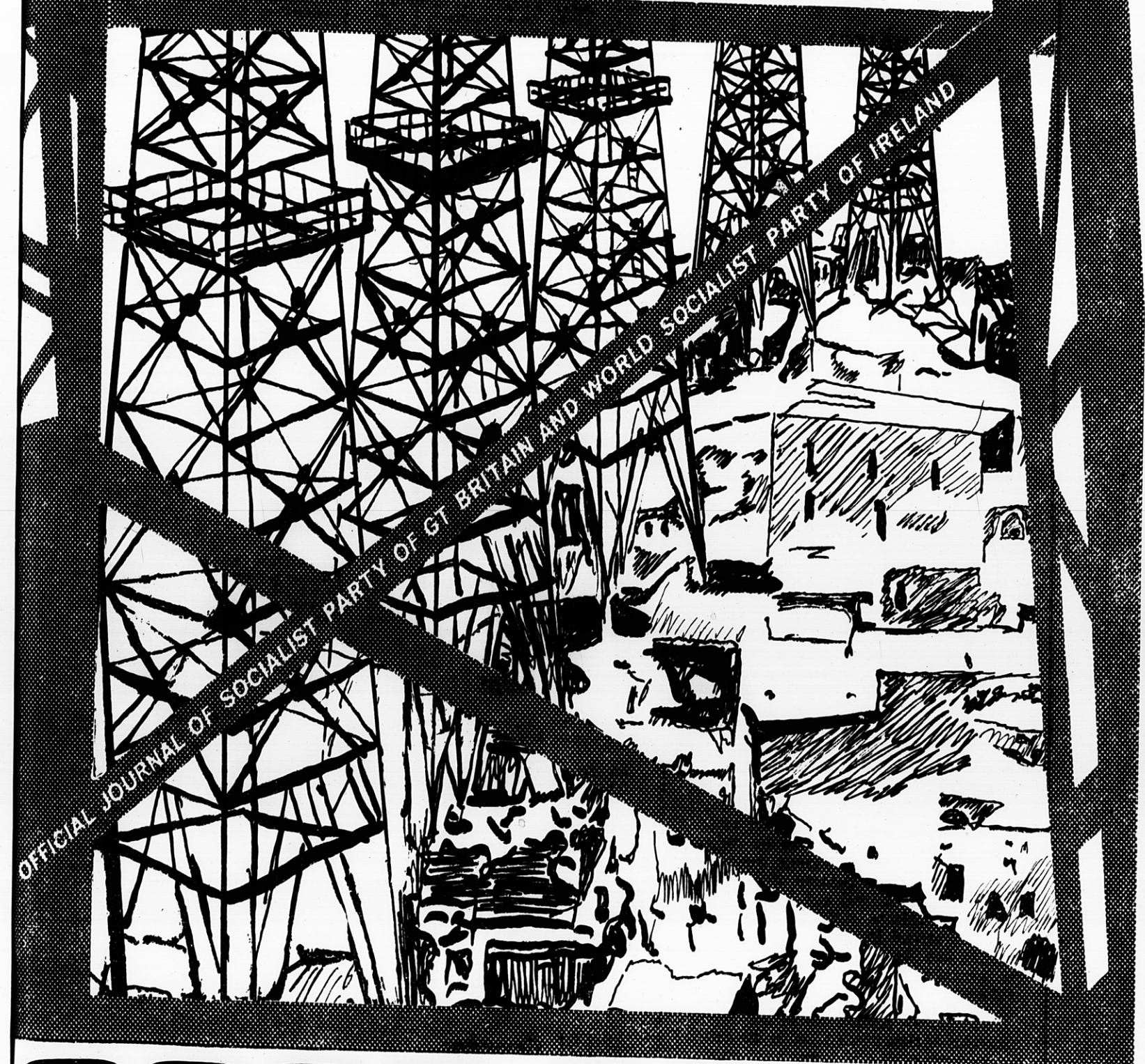
**Mondays:**  
 Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

**Wednesdays:**  
 Outside Charing Cross Tube Station,  
 Villiers Street, 7.30 pm

**Thursdays:**  
 Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm



# Socialist Standard



## COST OF OIL

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- 88 **News in review: Mandela, Spies, The Unions**



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

- 1) That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.
- 2) That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.
- 3) That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.
- 4) That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.
- 5) That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.
- 6) That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working-class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.
- 7) That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.
- 8) The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 4th and 18th June 8 pm: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm 5th June at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. BEX 1950) and 19th June at 32 Ickleton Road, Motttingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, NS.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursday 4th and 18th June 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (10th June) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** From 1st June, fortnightly Room 3 Community Centre, Leigh-on-Sea 8 pm. Correspondence: A. Partner, 28 Hambro Hill, Raleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (1st and 15th June) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (11th and 25th June in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 18 Ribblesdale Road, N8 (opposite Hornsey Railway Station - nearest Tube, Turnpike Lane). Correspondence to secretary at above address

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (12th and 26th June) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sala. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertston Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meetings from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

## DEBATE

Thursday 18th June 7.45pm  
Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1

## "WHICH PARTY SHOULD THE WORKING CLASS SUPPORT?"

SPGB Representative:

H. Baldwin

SPGB or SLP

June 1964

Vol 60 No 718

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain and the World  
Socialist Party of Ireland



SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting June 28th.

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## Sixty years on

It was on June 12th, 1904, that a hundred odd men and women, at a meeting in London, formed the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

We do not intend to let the sixtieth anniversary of our foundation pass unnoticed—but neither shall we celebrate in the manner so popular with other political parties. We shall not arrange any great banquets (they would be a flop if we did) or balls (dancing has never been one of our strong points) or any of the other events which are notable only for their false glitter and pompous self-congratulation.

We regard our sixtieth birthday as an occasion for reviewing the work we have done, and the contributions we have made to the international Socialist movement; for intensifying our propaganda both written and spoken; and for planning more work to occupy the busy years ahead.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain came into existence without premises, a journal, literature or funds. Its founder members were derided on all sides as "Impossibilists" who would soon go out of existence. In some way the new party was a very feeble infant but it had a powerful heart—Socialist principles and understanding—the like of which no other organisation possessed.

It was that heart which brought our party through its first anxious months. It conceived and nurtured the *Socialist Standard* and it built and expanded the Socialist Party into what it is today—an established revolutionary organisation with its own permanent headquarters in London, its own monthly journal, companion parties in a number of other countries and a library of pamphlets the consistency and correctness of which we feel entitled to take pleasure in.

That strong heart brought the idea of Socialism through the persecution of the First World War, through the black days of the rise of Fascism in Europe and through the battering of 1939/45. It has always been a heart which has beaten true. The members who make up the Socialist Party today have exactly the same principles and understanding as did the gallant few who set out on their seemingly impossible task so long ago.

In September this year the *Socialist Standard* too will be sixty years old. We shall mark the event with a special issue, which will review in some detail the history of our party.

For the moment, let it be enough to put on record our admiration for the comrades who took on unflinchingly the hardest job the Socialist movement will probably ever have to face—its own foundation. And let us declare that we who are the Socialist Party in the nineteen sixties will carry on the work.

We shall uphold the principles which were formulated, for the first time as a consistent whole, sixty years ago. We shall continue to be an independent, democratic, political party which maintains that Socialism can only come as a result of majority understanding. A party which has no leaders, which opposes all capitalist wars and is hostile to all other political organisations.

And lastly, a party which stands for Socialism: a social system in which the things which man uses to make and to distribute his wealth are owned by the whole of mankind, in which the barriers of race and colour are recognised for the falsities which they are and in which man is truly free.



## ABROAD

## Mandela Speaks

In Pretoria Nelson Mandela has stood trial, with eight others, on charges of attempting revolution by violence. If he is found guilty—and he does not deny that he helped to organise acts of sabotage—Mandela could be sentenced to death.

It is inevitable, in the prevailing conditions and atmosphere in South Africa, that Mandela's case should arouse considerable sympathy. To many of those who resent the repressions and indignities which the coloured people of South Africa are subjected to, Mandela's admitted activities are anything but crimes. They are his people's cries for help.

It is a truism that violent repressions are bound to provoke violent resistance. Because of this, a man in Mandela's predicament can often come to be thought of as almost a saint. But history has shown how a saint under duress at one time, can be a devil in command at another. The past is crowded with men who have been imprisoned—and even sentenced to death—for their opposition to a repressive power and who, when they eventually themselves took over their country, proved to be no better than the power they had deposed. DeValera, Nkrumah, Ben Bella are only three like this who spring to mind.

What of Mandela?

During his trial he set out his views in a four and a half hour speech. It is instructive to examine this speech, especially some of the more revealing passages in it.

We all (Ghandi, Nehru, Nkrumah, Nasser) accept the need for some form of Socialism to enable our people to catch up with the advanced countries of the world . . .

It is common for the leaders of rising nationalist movements to tag the name of Socialism onto the measures of state control they would like to impose to try to advance their country's economy. The correct description for these measures is state capitalism, which in large doses has often led to the imposition of a dictatorship, and which in any case never offers a country's workers a future any better than private enterprise capitalism.

But even more significant is another passage.

I approached this question (guerilla warfare) as every African Nationalist

should do . . . I attempted to examine all types of authority on the subject . . . covering such a variety as Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara on the one hand, and the writings on the Anglo-Boer War on the other.

The point in this, which Mandela's sympathisers are bound to miss, is that both Mao Tse-tung and the Boers were once fighters against oppression. They used the same sort of arguments about human dignity and freedom which Mandela now uses. Yet in the end they have themselves imposed hard dictatorships, under the thrall of which Mandela and his friends have suffered.

What reason is there to believe that the African Nationalists, if they ever got power, would be any improvement on the Boers? The history of capitalism says that there is no reason whatever.

## AT HOME

## Spy exchange

Of all the dirty jobs which capitalism needs to have done, spying is one of the worst.

And not the least unpleasant aspect of spying is its calculated indifference. A spy knows the score. He knows that he is out on his own and that if he gets caught he must take what is coming to him. The government which sent him out will not—indeed cannot—help him. Except in the very rare occasions when their hands are forced—the U2 is an example—they will not ever admit that the man is a spy.

This was why the Russians never officially recognised Gordon Lonsdale as one of their agents. For the same reasons, the British government's protestations, that Mr. Greville Wynne was just a harmless business man, should not be automatically believed.

What seems most likely is that Wynne was a small cog in the British espionage

machine, perhaps convinced that he was only doing his patriotic duty by being a messenger boy. The freedom which the press were given, to interview him and to follow him around, when he returned to England suggest that he was anything but an important spy.

The striking thing about the affair was the grisly cynicism with which Wynne was used. The British government held off agreeing to the exchange until they were given a "humanitarian" reason for doing so. The Russians duly obliged by illtreating Wynne, so that he came back an unrecognisable shadow of the man who went out.

Thus the newspapers were given some interesting photographs to take and some interesting stories to print and presumably someone, somewhere, was satisfied that all the niceties of international double-dealing had been complied with.

It never seemed to strike anybody—except the Wynne family—that they were playing with a man's life.

Ah, well, Capitalism has shown again and again that it has an order of priorities and that human welfare is nowhere near the top of it.

## POLITICS

## Ready for the Unions

More than ever convinced that they are a sure bet to win the next election, the Labour Party are turning anxious eyes upon the problems they are likely to meet when they take office.

One of these problems will be the size of our wage packets. Despite the airy assurances which the capitalist parties give at election times, all of them know that one of their knottiest problems is to hold wages in check while doing nothing which they think might affect the conditions which give rise to a heavy demand for labour.

The Tories have played this one pretty

cool, but the Labour Party are convinced that they have a special advantage in meeting this problem. Their leaders never tire of telling us that only a Labour government, with its close ties with the unions, can effectively control wage claims. And now, as the autumn draws near, they are busily rallying the unions to accept the restrictions which lie ahead. Listen to these.

A Labour Government and trade unionists have shown how to work wholeheartedly for the same thing. Sometimes they will have to share uncomfortable responsibilities and consequences. (*Who said that? Deputy Labour Leader George Brown.*)

. . . unless the unions face the facts of life as they are in the late 1960's, then in seven to ten years' time the State will have to intervene. (*Who said that? Labour's Shadow Minister of Labour Ray Gunter.*)

The miners never had a better friend than Alf Robens. They would be in a mess if he had not come to the Coal Board in 1960. (*Who said that? Alf Robens, of course.*)

These statements—and there are many others to choose from—have a nervously sanguine tone to them. Do the present Labour leaders remember the fights which the Attlee government had over wages? Do they remember the wage-freeze? The strikes, and how the Labour government did their best to break them? Do they fear that they will have to face the same

battles, when they are the government?

And is that why they are so determinedly whistling in the dark?

## BUSINESS

## Big time divorce

One of the fashionable tendencies in big business over the past few years has been to merge and to concentrate into gigantic industrial and commercial combines. We need hardly say that the drive behind this fashion has been the need to hold their own in the jungle war that is capitalism.

This tendency has accounted for firms which once seemed to be implacable rivals. An example of this was the merger between the Austin and Morris motor companies, which produced the British Motor Corporation.

These mergers have happened because the companies involved in them have been convinced that they stood to gain a lot by the marriage. And it is that same conviction that has persuaded ICI and Courtaulds apparently to go against the trend and to break up their partnership in the jointly owned British Nylon Spinners.

This divorce will entail Courtaulds surrendering their half share in BNS and ICI giving up their holding of 30 million Courtaulds shares which they were left with after their unsuccessful takeover bid in 1962.

## FORERUNNERS OF MARX

The author claims that the great forerunners of Marx—standing between the Utopians and the latter—was an Irishman named William Thompson, who, among numerous notable statements, laid bare the source of value in his work entitled, "An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth most conducive to Human Happiness", etc., published 1824, where it is laid down that all labour can be reduced to unskilled labour of the average kind at a given time.

Miss Potter says Marx took his notion of "homogeneous human labour" from Thompson and incorporated it in "Capital".

The author says, "In the English speaking world the work of this Irish thinker is practically unknown, but on the Continent of Europe his position has long been established" (p.115).

Now what is common to both Connolly and Miss Potter is the curious fact that neither of them state who established Thompson's position and made him known on the Continent. The uninstructed reader may learn with surprise that the person responsible was—Karl Marx!

Many years ago Dr. Aveling pointed out in a little book called "Darwin Made Easy", that the various "objections" by ignorant Christians and parsons to Darwin's work were all first formulated by Darwin himself in the "Origin of Species", and no opponent had ever brought forward any other. So with Marx. All the opponents of Marx who are so loud in their claims to have discovered "forerunners" of his work and ideas are all of them—German, English and Irish alike—indebted to Marx, who first discovered and gave full credit to them

Despite this big shareholding, ICI had no director on the Courtaulds boards, which meant that although they had a substantial amount of capital at stake in the company they did not have a commensurate amount of control over its day to day affairs.

This was one of the results of the strained relations between the two firms which came out of the great takeover battle.

At the same time, Courtaulds have become interested in Nylon 6, a new fibre which they are already producing in a few countries abroad. Dutch and American firms are starting production of Nylon 6 in this country (on the very day the ICI/Courtaulds divorce was announced Chemstrand, a subsidiary of the US Monsanto Corporation, gave out that they intended to build a £6 million Nylon 6 plant in Scotland), and Courtaulds, restricted by their interest in the BNS fibre Nylon 66, saw that they might be losing a trick.

By all the profit-conscious, competitive, standards of capitalism, then, the divorce was a logical move. But it does not mean that there is any reversal in the trend to concentrate.

Rather, in the manner of living cells, ICI and Courtaulds have divided only to become larger and to multiply. It is very much on the cards that one day in the not too distant future we shall see them in a head-on battle over the nylon market. That will be a contest with a horrible fascination all of its own.

in his various works, particularly in the "Poverty of Philosophy" and the "Critique of Political Economy".

And among others he points out that Benjamin Franklin had already in 1721 stumbled on the secret of undifferentiated labour as the source of value, though he (Franklin) did not work the idea out to any extent.

However, it is the fashion today among the shallow critics of scientific Socialism who are unable to refute the case or show a flaw in the arguments of Marx to pretend to demolish that genius by finding someone who "anticipated" him, and keeping "gradely dark" the fact that the very person they are indebted to for such discovery is Marx himself.

(From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, June, 1914. Extract from a review of "Labour in Irish History" by James Connolly.)



## A historic event

BESIDES the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Shakespeare, another anniversary that will be universally noted this year is the Jubilee Year of the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

During the early days of the present century a group of young people within the Social Democratic Federation, at that time the most advanced of the English radical parties, aimed at transforming the Federation into a genuine socialist organisation free from the fetters of reformism and leadership. A decade or so previously, dissatisfaction with the Federation had already led to the ill fated breakaway which formed the Socialist League, led by such notables as William Morris and Karl Marx's daughter, Eleanor. Unfortunately the "League" soon abandoned parliamentary action and came under the control of anarchists.

In 1903-4, however, the later group that had formed within the Social Democratic Federation made desperate efforts to head off the reformist policies of the Federation's leaders and thus help to bring it into line with the class struggle basis of revolutionary political action. But the Federation, refusing to be thwarted from its reformist policies, its penchant for making agreements with capitalist parties, and its idea of working class leadership, commenced expulsion of the militants.

In London on June 12th 1904 the expelled militants formed the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the members immediately set about framing principles and rules to guide them. The party also arranged to publish a monthly journal which first appeared September 1904.

Though similar parties have since been formed in other parts of the world, all adhering to the same socialist object and principles, the growth of socialist knowledge among the masses has been slow in comparison with the growth of confusion as to what socialism is. This will be readily admitted by anyone who has followed recent world politics, or even local politics. Yet through the past sixty years the S.P.G.B. has remained stable in character and consistent in its attitude and principles in spite of the bitterness and contumely that has appeared in other parties. It has also seen two world wars, the rise of state capitalism in Russia, the undemocratic attempt to impose by force the trappings of capitalist industrialisation on the populations of feudal China and Tibet, yet has maintained its original thesis: that the socialist revolution will not be brought about by its being imposed on the workers by a body of leaders, but will only come when a working-class majority understand and want socialism, and vote for it at the polling booth.

## MAY DAY IN TRAFALGAR SQUARE

A GROUP of individuals standing in Trafalgar Square were shocked—shocked at what they obviously regarded as an act of profanity, a desecration, a catastrophe, taking place before their very eyes.

We assumed that these gentlemen came from some military establishment, as they were all wearing bowler hats and dark lounge suits and were carrying rolled up umbrellas. Had they been wearing bearskins we might have said they were Guards officers. But then of course, as everybody knows, rolled up umbrellas don't go with bearskins; the best thing to match a bearskin is a bear. But we must not lose the thread of our story.

We should point out that at first we experienced some difficulty in understanding what they were saying. At one point we were of the opinion that they were using some primitive dialect interlaced with Esperanto. But we were wrong; one of our brighter members remarked that it was extremely difficult to speak English without opening the mouth and at the same time keeping it full of marbles. But with practice it can be done, as these gentlemen were now demonstrating.

Our first clue came very quickly when, during one of their rare periods of articulation, one uttered a "four letter word". This, mark you, on the Sabbath Day.

Now a four letter word in English is the most fundamental expression of annoyance one is capable of. These military gentlemen were indeed very annoyed.

The seat of the trouble lay below Nelson's column. For the benefit of overseas readers, Nelson's column is the most famous monument in the British Empire, or Commonwealth as they prefer to call it nowadays. It is a veritable pillar of British capitalism, a symbol of Imperialism; and what's more, it was built with scab labour. Apart from keeping Nelson up, it is very useful to the large pigeon population whose visiting cards are clearly visible in great numbers. On this occasion, however, this May Day Sunday in nineteen hundred and sixty four, the monument was performing the most useful role in all its history.

Draped round the column was a large red banner with the name of the Socialist Party on it. A little below this a large printed slogan—a very sensible slogan—"Abolition of the wages system". The famous lions had posters over their front paws, and one had the Socialist statement on war attached to his posterior. On the plinth itself was a table at which sat four Socialist speakers, each waiting to speak to the audience of well over a thousand

people. A hundred or so members of the SPGB were there, each playing his part in making this a great occasion. The whole scene was enough to make Lord Nelson turn in Lady Hamilton's bed.

Yes, this was the Socialist Party holding its first May Day Rally in Trafalgar Square. Hitherto, on previous May Days, we have been plagued with the Communist circus and the Co-op adverts in Hyde Park advising workers to eat Stork margarine. (After sixty years of the "progressive" Labour Party, surely it ought to be butter?) But here we were without any distractions; no bagpipes, brass bands or skiffle groups.

We took full advantage of the situation—God was on our side as far as the weather was concerned—it was a lovely afternoon. For three hours all within the Square heard the Socialist case through our loudspeakers. To see lots of Party members selling the S.S., and a well-stocked literature stall carrying every Party publication, was a grand sight. Nearly £12 of literature, including 300 copies of the S.S. were sold, and a collection of £19 10s. 0d. was taken up.

The meeting was temporarily interrupted by the appearance of two rather motley processions in the roadway out-

## Labour or Tory?—Tory or Labour?

SOMETIME before next November the people of this country will decide on their next government.

Although both Labour and Tory parties have a large nucleus of loyal supporters who would never vote for any other party, there is a vast number of voters who are not committed beforehand. It is these, commonly lumped together as the "floating vote", who determine which party victory goes to in present day political conditions. The further away from the solid nucleus of a political party the voter is, the more is his vote likely to "float", and the governments under which we suffer are in effect determined by the most indeterminate of voters—victory goes to that party which is able to capture the temporary support of a few million voters.

The way in which the tide can ebb and flow is well demonstrated by the fluctuating percentages of support published in

the public opinion polls. But even these are often not accurate prophets of the actual results, and elections have been won or lost on the strength of the smell of red herrings drawn across the path by the Tory or Labour fishwives just before the votes are cast.

Most voters think the art of government is some mystical thing which is the prerogative of professional politicians; once their votes are cast they are prepared to leave the job to "those who know best". No small wonder then that the working class get the government they deserve.

Such results inevitably produce a certain amount of disillusionment. From time to time, there arise movements clamouring for the reform of the electoral system or, even more misguided, for the total rejection of the electoral system itself. But the adoption of various systems of proportional representation in other countries has demonstrated that such reform does not solve the basic problem, as the sway of government still passes between the major parties or major coalitions according to the temper of the day. Although it is possible for more shades of opinion to be represented in the debating chamber, the general effect is usually only to lead to greater instability in the government.

Stability or non-stability is not, however, what we are after. What we are after is the establishment of an administration we want—not a government we deserve! To achieve this object two things are politically necessary:

First, the right to vote—this we already have; second, the ability and knowledge to use the vote in the right way—this statement immediately poses the question—What is the "right" way?

Obviously the right way is to vote for what we want. But this involves the ability and knowledge to judge whether the policies of political parties will in fact

achieve the desired results; that what the politicians say will happen, will in fact happen! From lifetimes of experience we know only too well how contrary these results have been.

There are two main reasons for this. First, the short term expedient, the shaping of immediate policy into election pledges to try to capture the floating vote. Second, the long term impossibility, the complete inability, of any political party to control the present economic system. The familiar pattern of governments which are incapable of carrying out all their policies and which are inevitably forced to repudiate their pledges and promises will continue so long as the electorate has insufficient knowledge of the causes of such political duplicity.

Both the major political parties are prepared to use expediency to gain office and neither has a policy designed to rid us of the present economic system of capitalism. Consequently, whichever party forms the government after the next election, the pattern of events which follow will be similar to what we have experienced before.

Some people think there are fundamental differences between the Labour and Tory parties—others, and this view has gained more credence in recent years—think there is very little difference between them. The latter view is nearer the truth the more we consider *fundamental* issues; the former view reflects more correctly the views of those who are concerned mainly with *surface* appearances. It is the fundamental issues which are more important but we should not blind ourselves to the fact that there are considerable differences between Tory and Labour Parties on the ways and means of organising the economics and politics of the country. It is these differences which will decide the result of the next general election.

N.S.

### 60 YEARS FOR SOCIALISM

**On June 12th 1904 the SPGB was founded and in September 1904 the first number of the Socialist Standard appeared. To mark the 60th anniversary of these historic events the september issue of the Socialist Standard will be enlarged and carry special features for the occasion.**



## Aden: The cost of oil

THERE is nothing the press loves so much as a bogey man. Whenever Great Britain is in dispute with another country, almost without exception the newspapers spill their inky venom in caricatures of the "enemy" leader, showing him as stupid, or bloodthirsty, or power mad, or in some other, equally unpleasant, way.

So it is at the moment with President Nasser, who, ever since he first pressed the claims of Arab nationalism against the entrenched British interests in the Middle East, has been one of the principal stand-bys for the headline writers and editors of Fleet Street.

"Get Out! Says Nasser" bellows one headline, and workers in bowler hats and boiler suits all over Great Britain feel their hackles rise as they read a carefully bowdlerised, pepped-up version of a speech by the Egyptian ruler. How dare he, they fume. It's about time we sent in the paratroops. A pity we stopped at Suez when we did. What he's asking for is an H-bomb on Cairo. And so on.

In this atmosphere, the story of the beheading of two English soldiers by the rebel Radfani tribesmen—who are said to be armed by the Egyptians—found a hysterically receptive audience. Big, slashing, screaming headlines, supported with the boy-next-door pictures of the soldiers and details of their families, blazoned the story across the nation's breakfast tables.

It did not seem to occur to any of the newspapers that, even if the story were true, they were adding an intolerable burden to the grief of the men's families by their eager publicising of it. Or, if this *did* occur to them, the papers ignored it. They, after all, had a job of muckspreading to do and in that great enterprise what concern can there be for an unimportant detail like human feelings?

This was one of the most squalid aspects of the affair, in which not only the press but the men's commanding officer and the government were implicated. For the alacrity with which the first story was accepted, without checking by reliable observers on the spot, suggests that those who noised it may have suspected its total veracity—but had objects in mind other than publishing the truth.

The story started at a Press conference given by Major General John Cubbon, the General Officer Commanding British Land Forces in the Middle East. General Cubbon, who seems to be one of the less subtle of military minds, said that the report of the decapitation was based on "reliable information". And he went on to hint at the reason behind it all: "If this is true... It will have a profound effect on our troops."

As it turned out Cubbon's story was only partly true, which caused a lot of red faces for a time but did nothing to put the affair in a better light. General Cubbon, with his musing upon the effects which atrocity stories are likely to have on his troops, is only the latest in a long, undistinguished line. The world is accustomed by now to the methods which are used to inflame the patriotism of the working class—although unhappily it is not inured to those methods.

There was, for example (and we shall probably be hearing more of this during the next few months), the atrocity myths which came out of the German invasion of Belgium in 1914. The usual "reliable sources" reported that the German soldiers were running amok, raping women of all ages, bayoneting babies and cutting off children's hands.

(At the same time, the German ruling class were feeding their workers on similar lies. In their version, Belgian soldiers

made a sport of tearing out the eyes of wounded German soldiers. Entire hospital wards were said to be filled with men who had suffered this fate and one small boy was reported to have seen a bucketful of gouged out eyes.)

These stories probably did their evil work effectively enough and persuaded many a man, who later in the trenches came to doubt the truth of what he had been told, into khaki. In fact, there was no reason at the time to believe the stories. In 1914, when the British propagandists were weeping crocodile tears over "poor little Belgium", the world had only just recovered from the shock caused by the revelation of the atrocities which the Belgians themselves had committed in the Congo. The extent of the outrages are difficult to ascertain, but there is no doubt—and there was none in 1914—that literally millions of Congolese natives had been murdered, with the active connivance of the Belgian government, in the mad hunt for the Congo's rubber.

All of this was forgotten. There was no real evidence to support the 1914 atrocity stories, but nobody bothered about that. In their hysterical patriotism the working class were eager to gobble up any rubbish. As late as 1917, Belgium was still considered good for a propaganda theme. An American poster of that year showed a lecherous, helmeted Prussian dragging an innocent young maid off to a fate worse than death, all silhouetted against burning houses and topped by the caption—"Remember Belgium."

This sort of propaganda finds a lush breeding ground in the basic ignorance with which most people regard Capitalism. It is this ignorance which persuades many of them so readily to see the inevitable conflicts of capitalism in terms of the personalities of national rulers. It persuaded them to see 1914/18 as a consequence of the Kaiser's imperialist ambitions, 1939/45 as a result of Hitler's murderous insanity, and the endless small clashes in the Middle East as the fruits of President Nasser's insatiable conceits.

This ruinously naive conception does not permit of the asking of any penetrative questions. The British worker who regards Nasser as a comical, but dangerous, dictator does not ask himself why the Egyptian ruling class is nowadays so often in conflict with their British counterparts. He does not ask why British troops are in the South Arabian Peninsula, in the same way as his father did not ask, in 1914, why the Britain which had so recently fought the small Boer Republic became suddenly protective of the rights of poor little Belgium.

So let us ask the questions for him.

It is difficult to unravel the politics of the Arabian Peninsula, complicated as they are by the feudal structure of a multitude of sheikdoms and sultanates. It has long been British policy to exploit these complications—to play off one ruler against another and to conclude deals with some of them, if necessary helping them to stamp out any republican or embryonic trade union movements.

If Egypt is at the moment the big threat to British interests in the Middle East it is only because the Egyptian ruling class want to unite the various countries there in a common stand against foreign domination. Several attempts at formal unity have largely come to nothing, which has meant that the workers and the natural resources of the area are to some extent still exploited by foreign capitalists, instead of exclusively by a native ruling class.

A glance at any map shows the strategic importance of the Arabian Peninsula, standing as it does at the outlet of the Red

Sea, which is part of Great Britain's vital sea route to the Far East and Australia. Another sort of map will show up the peninsula's abounding oilfields, which are by no means a pacifying ingredient in an area which would have been inflammable enough without the discovery of thick, black, vital ooze beneath the hot sands. All of this explains the existence of the British base at Aden, and the deep and longstanding British interest in what is incorrectly called the Aden Protectorate—incorrectly because the troops are not there to protect the people of Aden. They are there to safeguard the interests of the British capitalist class, which means that they might be used in all manner of enterprises which have nothing to do with protecting anybody.

Many of the Arab rulers are insecure, faced as they are with the rumblings of nationalist, republican movements. Even King Saud of Saudi Arabia, who was once thought to be safely cushioned by thick wads of Yankee dollars, has been virtually deposed by his brother. The constant dream of British governments has been to stabilise the peninsula under rulers who are amenable to Whitehall's commands. So it was that in 1962 the South Arabian Federation was imposed on the Aden area, part of the border of which faces the Yemen Republic.

The Yemen is one of the Middle East's young republics whose ambitions are being encouraged and exploited by the Egyptian government. The country has its own internal troubles, in the shape of a dissident royalist movement but this has not, apparently, prevented it supporting the rebel tribesmen just over its border.

The British government has complained that the rebels are supplied with arms by the Yemen, which gets them from Egypt,

which gets them from the Soviet Union. The Yemenis in turn charge that the British-supported sheik of Beihar, whose territory borders on the Yemen, has been supplying weapons to the royalist rebels in the Republic.

Both stories could well be true. The Middle East is in just the sort of mess we might expect in an area which, ruled by a lot of feudal aristocrats, is of enormous economic and strategic importance to the great powers of capitalism. All sorts of despots are propped up by Western arms and money, and many rebel movements are nurtured by material expressions of sympathy from more developed lands.

It is an explosive situation.

And all of this because industry and transport need oil and because Western Europe needs its trade routes to the Far East. Because capitalism, inevitably, has split the world into competing nations and factions, all of them striving to get the cushiest concession on an oil field, all of them out for the easiest, fastest selling market. These are the basic reasons for the ugly, violent mess which is the Middle East today.

Capitalism causes war and war itself is an atrocity. And part of its atrociousness is the lying which both sides always indulge in, and the receptive ignorance which ensures that the lies are believed—at any rate for the critical period. The story of the beheadings in the Yemen is gruesomely distressing. But there should be no surprise that the propaganda machine fed it out so eagerly.

Instead, there should be disgust—a fruitful disgust—at it all, at the lies and the cynicism and the ignorance which are so essential a part of property society. At such times we see capitalism for what it is and it is not pleasant to look upon.

IVAN.

### BOOKS

**Corker's Freedom** by John Berger  
Methuen 21/-

IN THE post-war world we have become accustomed to the oft-repeated story of working class prosperity. The term "the Affluent Society" has now become an overworked joke, but not so very long ago it was taken most seriously. Cosy articles in newspapers and magazines, and cynical adverts on the television screen, have painted a picture of workers leading lives of unparalleled richness and variety.

Even the outbursts of brutish stupidity and violence which have hit the head-

lines from time to time, far from destroying this image, are presented as offshoots of this same prosperity. Pleasant indeed is the lot of the fortunate worker in this charming dream world. It is therefore refreshing in the extreme to read descriptions of life as it is really lived by the vast mass of the people. Description that we know, only too well, to be true.

John Berger, who is well known as an art critic with the *New Statesman*, and for his excellent book of essays *Permanent Red*, is a writer with the ability to sum up the contemporary scene with a crisp economy of words. Berger claims to be a Marxist, although nothing very much appears in his works to justify such a claim. He is also described on the dust-jacket of one of his books as a Revolutionary Moraliser, whatever that may mean. There is however no doubt about his ability to put a mirror up to the world in which he lives.

His latest novel, *Corker's Freedom*, describes a day in the lives of two people who run a dingy employment bureau in South London. They are the elderly pro-

prietor—the Corker of the title—and his youthful assistant, and linked with their story are the people who come to see them.

The novel is a short one, and many of the scenes are amusing, but the overall picture is one of drabness and futility. Even the crooks are small-time and poor, like so many of the lesser criminals. The stakes for which they play seem hardly worth the trouble. But it is in its description that the book really comes to life, as in the description of Clapham seen through the eyes of a man fresh from the country.

Outside the window it is the acres of roofs that interest him. The hundreds of chimneys, serving old fireplaces with black grates and room for only three lumps of coal, are like stumps of trees in a forest long since cut down. He is able to see no end to it. He is in London.

The final scene, of a speaker in Hyde Park subjected to moronic interruptions, is one which will appeal to anyone with a knowledge of Speakers' Corner.

L DALE

### The WESTERN SOCIALIST

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## Shakespeare and Elizabethan society

IN this article it is aimed to outline briefly Elizabethan Society and its effect on the work of Shakespeare. It is necessary to look into the social background in order to see how conditions gave rise to new ideas of society and how they were reflected by Shakespeare.

The feudal system was in a dying state towards the end of the 16th century. The first upheaval and the greatest was due to the change in the methods of production. The most important development was in the growth of the wool industry with its expanding export markets. This led to the enclosure system—the forcible seizure of the lands from the peasants by the rich landlords. Here we had the development of early capitalist industry, and the exploitation of the former peasants.

The feudal system was crumbling and power began to move from the feudal aristocrat to the new landed bourgeoisie.

Now for the political aspects of the time which followed from the change in economic conditions. The intensive reorganisation of sections of the landed nobility and their unification with the bourgeoisie (the new merchant class) which in its early period (almost to the end of the 16th century), brought about the desire for an absolute monarch to combat rebellious feudal lords.

The victory of the House of York in the Wars of the Roses, brought Edward IV (1461-1483) to the throne. He was the friend of the merchants and during his reign the mercantile system and absolutism in the political arena first made their appearance. Edward IV ruled almost without Parliament. Absolutism reached its climax during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Everybody was affected by the revolutionary changes in the social conditions.

Shakespeare (born 1564, died 1616) was a champion of the new forces. He recognised the barriers of the old feudal order and was in favour of absolutism to crush feudal rebellion. The history plays show this very clearly. The essential theme is the affirmation of absolute power. His fore-runner, Marlowe (1564-1593), likewise reflected in his work the aspirations of the bourgeoisie.

His plays expressed all the passion of an exultant class, eager to rush into the fray for the conquest of the world. Marlowe develops the heroic tragedy. "To know everything" is the motto of Marlowe's heroes. Shakespeare has his roots in Marlowe, but picked up the pen of Marlowe and developed his style considerably.

Above all Shakespeare recognized the necessity of a strong central power, to put down rebellion. The English bourgeoisie favoured not only monarchism, but even absolutism for a time, which still served their ends. This is a problem that occupied Shakespeare.

This also explains the peculiar omissions in his works. In "King John", for instance, there is no mention of the Magna Charta, one of the most important events of that epoch; this would have lowered the stature of the ruler, and defeated Shakespeare's purpose.

The bourgeoisie, the squirearchy and the absolutists were united in their common struggle against the feudal nobles who stood for the old order. The history plays leave little doubt as to where Shakespeare's sympathies lay. The powerful feudal nobles depicted by him—the Percies, Glendowers, Mortimers—are arrogant and refractory. To him they were the scourge of the land. He saw Henry IV's reign as an uninterrupted series of tragic events due to the feudal uprisings which resulted from the King's usurpation.

A strong King, according to Shakespeare, is the greatest political blessing a nation can enjoy. Title alone does not make a King—he must justify his rank. Henry VI and Richard II perish because they are not such Kings. In the play Henry V we have the only sovereign who has completely crushed feudalism. He embodies all Shakespeare's hopes which were to be realised by absolutism. In Richard III the King represents a strong ruler who firmly holds the reins of power and puts an end to the intrigues and quarrels of the Court cliques.

The history plays are permeated with the idea of the inevitability of the historical process: "evil inevitability", Richard II calls it. There are many references to the "times" and the "spirit of the times".

The Earl of Westmoreland (Henry IV, Part 2, Act IV, Scene I) replies to the accusation of the rebellious feudal nobles with:

O, my good Lord Mowbray,  
Construe the times to their necessities,  
And you shall say indeed, it is the time  
And not the King, that doth you injuries.

Then we have the speech by Warwick (Henry IV, Part 2, Act III, Scene I)—

There is a history in all men's lives,  
Figuring the nature of the times deceased;  
The which observed, a man may prophesy,  
With a near aim, of the main chance of things  
As yet not come to life.

Shakespeare not only states the casual conditioning of events but demonstrates it through all the means at his command. One of the chief means is to relate events to the social background. In Henry IV, the scenes in which Falstaff appears; in Henry V, the scenes in the camp; and in Richard III, the scenes of proclamation depict the life which is the foundation from which spring the major political events.

Shakespeare was a powerful poetical dramatist opposed to the feudal system and in the history plays he used the history of the previous times to help further the object of crushing feudalism. It was a tradition in those days, handed down from medieval times, that drama was to entertain and to teach.

During the first period of Shakespeare's work until around 1601, there occurred the coalescence of all the foremost forces of the country: upper middle-class, the monarchy, the gentry, and even part of the old landed nobility. This process is reflected by the joyous optimism of Shakespeare's early work which was filled with a bold and happy affirmation of life, with obviously aristocratic elements. He has two main themes: (1) The assertion of the absolutist national state; and (2) The joy of living now available to society, at last emancipated from feudal bondage.

To the first theme he dedicated the history plays: to the second the series of enchanting, gay comedies like "Two Gentlemen of Verona", "Love's Labour's Lost", "A Midsummer Night's Dream", and "The Taming of the Shrew". But the effects of the disintegration of the class alignment are already apparent in the plays written towards the end of the 16th century, plays like "Much Ado About Nothing" (1598) and "Twelfth Night" (1599) with their bitter sweet atmosphere which is never very far from tragedy. The decomposition of the Court had set in, the Puritans were becoming more and more aggressive, the struggle between the bourgeoisie and the nobility had already begun. Hence the tragic treatment of power in "Julius Caesar" (1599) with its confused conclusions and its

pessimism.

Shakespeare lived in the period which saw the rise of the bourgeoisie, later to become the capitalist class. Here is an extract from the Communist Manifesto by Marx and Engels which sums up the situation:—

"The bourgeoisie . . . has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his 'natural superiors' and has left no other bond between man and man than naked self-interest and callous 'cash payment'. It has drowned the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervour, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. . . . The bourgeoisie has stripped off its halo every occupation hitherto honoured and looked up to with reverent awe. . . . The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil and has reduced the family relation to a money relation."

During the second period to 1609—years which marked the decline of Elizabeth's reign and the advent, under James I, of feudal reaction—the process of disintegration was completed. Corruption was rife and the nobility, with the support of the monarchy, was preparing to defend its position against the bourgeoisie and the gentry. The literature of the time was teeming with pessimism.

These events, plus the execution of the Earl of Essex and the Earl of Southampton, who was a friend of Shakespeare, had a profound influence on the poet. He did not write any more gay comedies but created the powerful tragedies "Hamlet" and "Troilus and Cressida". In both these plays Shakespeare gives us a picture of the social background as being ripe unto rottenness.

In "Measure for Measure" (1604) there can be seen the internal problems of absolute monarchy. The characters comment on the ruler and on current political events. We have portrayed the dregs of humanity; young profligates of the Court; procurers; corrupt constables and swindlers.

Then came the later tragedies like "Macbeth" and "King Lear", again dealing with the question of Kingship and the troubles of society. "Macbeth" may be seen to be another "Richard III", but the play is much more profound. It is the portrayal of the mental troubles of Macbeth after he has usurped the throne. "King Lear" can be seen as a powerful representation of Shakespeare's familiar theme showing spurious feudal ideas as opposed to ideas of genuine powerful love. The play also contains doubts about the money grabbing bourgeoisie. Edmund is like the bourgeoisie, a ruthless machiavellian, crafty and ambitious for personal gain.

In "Coriolanus" (1607) we have one of the gloomiest tragedies. It reflects disillusionment in the rulers. There can be seen a criticism and condemnation of the feudal aristocrat trying to rule under the new conditions but wishing to retain his feudal privileges. An interesting feature, also in this play, is the language of the lowly plebians. There is no indication of hypocrisy, greed or baseness and they are presented in a sympathetic manner.

Shakespeare was a powerful poetical dramatist and the language and dramatic intensity of the plays develops beautifully. In the early plays blank verse intrudes on the drama, but later he developed his art and reached a fusion in the heights of poetic drama. His achievement, however, is not only in the form of poetry and drama, but also in his presentation of the social background, and it is only by recognising this that we can fully appreciate his work.

In "A Companion to Shakespearean Studies", G. B. Harrison makes the following remarks:—

A serious student of Shakespeare's plays cannot neglect the national background, for in an age that was in many ways cribbed and confined, the problems of the individual were inseparable from the problems of the state. The picture of a Shakespeare magnificently aloof from life may be pleasing to romantic critics, but it does not square either with the facts, or with Shakespeare's own comment upon his art. "Players", said Hamlet to Polonius, "are the abstract and brief chronicles of the time". Besides the purpose and end of playing "both at the first and now, was and is to hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to nature"; "to show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time his form and pressure".

Shakespeare was at first a supporter of the bourgeoisie, the exponent of the program advanced by them when, in the name of humanity, they first challenged the feudal order, but which later they disavowed.

Towards the end of Shakespeare's life the bourgeoisie were already strong enough to throw off their cloak of being in the interests of humanity, to reveal their money grabbing and narrow-minded puritanism. Then he subjected the bourgeoisie to a keen and profound criticism. The rapacity, greed, cruelty, egoism and philistinism so typical of the growing bourgeoisie are scathingly portrayed and attacked. He placed on stage the social types of his day and through them reflected more clearly and profoundly than anyone else, the predominant social ideas of the times.

W.

[Reprinted from the Socialist Standard, June 1951]

### essential reading



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## Finance and Industry

### Oil under the sea

In our April issue we reported on the scramble now going on to stake out claims for oil concessions under the North Sea. As D-day draws nearer the Liquid Gold Rush is becoming more and more hectic.

D-day will be when the Minister of Power announces the regulations covering the issue of licences to prospect the sea bed, and asks for applications from interested firms. According to the *Financial Times*, the successful applicants may be hard at work by September.

Already the big boys are moving in, consolidating and amalgamating to impress the government that they are well in a position to cope should a licence come their way. Just to be on the safe side I.C.I. has set up shop with Burmah Oil and the Murphy Corporation of America, and the Gas Council has linked itself to U.S. Pan American International. Even more ambitiously, no less than six big British industrial firms, including Dorman Long and A.E.I., have set themselves up into a consortium with the impressive title of the North Sea Marine Engineering Construction Company. Asked about the prospects of finding oil, the managing director of the new company was very terse and to the point. "All I would say," he said, "is that 46 oil companies would not be doing seismological work if there was not any oil". Which, knowing our oil companies, seems apt enough comment.

Nobody knows at the moment just how many licences are going to be issued. But it won't be long before the lucky contenders are announced. It looks as though it is going to be quite a race with some very tempting prizes for the winner.

### and on land

The race for oil near at home should not make us overlook happenings further afield. British troops are not being shot at in Aden by trigger-happy Yemeni tribesmen for nothing; not the least of the reasons they are there for is to keep an eye on the neighbouring oil installations, in which British capitalism has a large stake.

If we include Libya, which is not all that far away, the Middle East produces about 60 per cent by value of British oil requirements. British military pretensions have long since precluded active intervention in Iraq and Persia, but there are still treaties of "protection" with the four-

teen petty states of the South Arabian Federation—these include, in particular, Kuwait with its annual output of 100 million tons of oil, in which B.P. has a fifty per cent interest. Some of the other sheikdoms are also fair oil producers, and exploration for new fields is going on in all of them, both on land and under the sea.

There are many people in British capitalist circles, who would be very pleased to get away from British dependence on Middle East oil. It has always been a risk politically, and is becoming more and more of a risk economically, particularly as the local ruling classes put increasing pressure on the oil companies for a greater and greater share of the revenues.

Which brings us back home again to the explorations under the North Sea. There is nothing probably the government would like better than for a hefty deposit of oil or natural gas to be found in British territorial waters. Something on

the scale of the recent big find in Holland would be just the thing. Then they and the oil companies would really be able to put the screws on when it came to the next squabble over royalties with the sheiks.

### The last bastion

Of all man's activities under capitalism, it is agriculture that has most resisted change. But change it does, in spite of all the obstacles, natural or man-made, that serve to impede it.

In the United States, the barriers have long since been broken. But, mechanisation apart, the rest of capitalism has been slow to follow the other developments which have become such a feature of the American agricultural scene during recent years. Yet within the last few years, in Britain especially, there has been a drastic change. Once upon a time farmers could think only of mass production in terms of crops; today, all is talk of applying this process to animals and animal produce.

As we have ourselves reported in these columns, one company alone is planning to produce about one-fifth of future British egg supplies, and it has since been announced that other firms are considering entering the egg industry on a similar scale. Linked with this development is another, again already prominent in the United States. This is vertical integration, the process whereby a single company controls the whole sequence of production—it has already been introduced into the broiler industry where some firms produce the feeding-stuffs, hatch out the young chickens from eggs laid by their own hens, rear them to broiler weight, and handle even the marketing themselves.

All this has come about in Britain in the space of two or three years—remember that the broiler industry itself was unknown ten years ago. Now the same process is being applied to cattle and to pigs; the *Financial Times* recently reported a project by one group to set up a gigantic pig-rearing unit estimated to cost £300,000, complete with sausage factory alongside!

One side effect is already troubling the millers and makers of animal feeds, since the fundamental feature of the new combines is that they produce their own fodder requirements. The reaction of the millers has been, as often happens in these

circumstances, to jump on to the band wagon themselves. Thus Spillers were quick to move in with Buxted Chicken, the big broiler chicken firm, to operate jointly their own feeding stuffs plant.

The small farmer, already feeling the squeeze from a host of directions, can

hardly cope with this type of development. The alternatives for him will be either a constantly worsening existence if he chooses to stay on his farm, or a new life as a wage-worker in the town. Britain already has the lowest proportion of its population living on the land, but it is

obvious that the forced emigration to the towns has still to exhaust itself. Agricultural mass production and vertical integration between them look like finishing off the process.

S.H.

## The Australian Scene

### Sweet Sugar . . . .

Capital investment in the Australian sugar industry complex is either high or low, according to the higher or lower profit margins to be gained. As with other industries, sugar has known both these aspects of the trade cycle. At the time of writing, however, it is a booming industry for the cane grower.

Queensland is the sugar state of Australia, and in reviewing the past decade of the industry there, Frank Devine says that the average value of the crop has been in the region of £60 millions a year. It's an ill wind that blows no capitalist any good, so in 1962, following the United States' decision to stop trading with Cuba, the Australian sugar growers enjoyed a season of almost perfect conditions. The result, according to Mr. Devine, was a record production of 1.8 million tons of raw sugar (500,000 tons better than 1961) and a rake off for the year of £85 millions.

But the sugar men were just flexing their muscles. The income from the 1963 crop (120,000 tons less than 1962) is expected to be at least £105 millions. . . . By 1970 it is estimated, sugar growing in Australia will be close to a £200 millions a year operation. . . . The North Queensland sugar country has almost the atmosphere of gold rush days. (*The Advertiser*, South Australia, 5/4/64.)

Not all the growers there are happy about the prevailing conditions, however. "Will the boom go bust?" is a question on the lips of some of the older and more established gentry, who have experienced the leaner and more difficult times of a few years back. They balk at the idea of throwing everything madly into the current boom and have expressed fears about the dangers of over-expansion.

Yet, despite themselves, they are hurried along by the tide of frantic boom conditions. To do less would mean falling out of the race altogether and leaving the field to the younger men " . . . full of optimism and busy with plans for mechanisation to make even more competi-

tively efficient one of the most efficient industries in Australia." An idea of just what this means can be glimpsed from the *Commonwealth of Australia Yearbook for 1963*, which tells us that about ninety-two per cent of raw sugar is now handled in bulk, with no bagging at any stage.

As we might gather, not all cane growers are rich. Some of them ("battlers" they are called) do their own cane cutting, working terribly hard, but whose return can only be described as meagre after meeting mortgage and hire-purchase payments on plant and equipment. However much they may strive, theirs is a hopeless struggle against the growing efficiency of the big men. They are doomed in the main to bankruptcy, with little else left but their labour power.

Doomed also to extinction (after the manner of the English hand loom weaver of the eighteenth century) is the Queensland cane cutter. During the course of his comparatively short existence, he has become one of the symbols of the tough, cheerful, self-reliant rural battler, resistant alike to smugness, oppressive authority and religious cant. But the rapid growth of mechanisation, as Devine points out, will mean the end of the seasonal worker in the sugar country. . . . But it will bring to Ingham and Innisfail and other sugar centres a small army of new permanent citizens who will sell, maintain and operate the machines."

So it is the same old picture of emerging industry demanding a specialised labourer, and then casting him into oblivion as further development renders his acquired skills obsolete. Indeed, as though from afar, we hear again the voice of Marx:—

This change may possibly not take place without friction, but take place it must. (*Capital*, Vol. I.)

### . . . . And Sour Grapes.

Grapes grown and harvested for the wineries, for fresh eating, or for dried fruit purposes, are among the most suc-

culent of fruits. Yet because of their commodity status in the modern world, and because of the complications which arise from this, grapes can, and do, acquire a sourness of which perhaps only the grower is aware.

We are beginning to see the grower viewing his commodity with concern as it becomes evident that demand is not keeping pace with his increasing supply unlike the present position of his fellow grower in the sugar industry. Reading again from *The Advertiser* of March 5th, Mr. Retalic, secretary of the Primary Producers' Union of South Australia, airs a dispute between the grape growers and the wine makers. The growers complain

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that the wineries are refusing to buy much of this season's harvest. The obvious solution, thinks Mr. Retalic, is to increase the price of sultanias by another £2 a ton.

This is clearly a case of man (Retalic) proposing and capitalism disposing, for it is the very uncertainty of the export market for dried fruit that has driven the growers to compete fiercely with each other for sales to the wineries. Just where the buyers are to be found who will agree to pay an extra £2 per ton in a falling market, Mr. Retalic does not say. However, he does seem to know enough about the basic conditions of the market when he admits that:—

The grower could not be blamed for trying to ensure the sale of his grapes, nor could the wine maker be blamed for trying to purchase his requirements at the best price.

So it is simply astonishing then, to hear him round off with a bout of moralising over something which is equally a fact of capitalist life, thus:—"What was blame-worthy was the complete indifference of each party for the business of the other."

Competition is often lauded by our bosses as something desirable in itself and for its own sake. That sort of philosophy may be alright when you're on the winning side, but not when (like Retalic) you start to take some of the knocks. It is then that you begin to deplore "indifference" and want to get together against the other fellow, because he is now bigger than you.

#### Cold Water on Troubled Oil.

With commendable detachment, *The Commonwealth of Australia Yearbook* for 1962 informs us on a burning topic of the day.

The discovery of oil in commercial quantities in Australia has been the object of oil exploration companies for many years. Recent discoveries in Queensland could indicate that this country is on the verge of proving commercial oilfields.

But less detached than the sober appraisal in the *Yearbook*, and understandably so, is the concern felt and voiced by Senator Maher, when dealing with the results of these expensive oil-seeking ventures. The senator has claimed that "... the search for oil in Australia would collapse unless provision was made for the purchase and distribution of the whole of the Moonie (well) production at a fair price." Investors would lose heart, he said, if all the oil already produced could not find "an immediate market at equitable prices in Australia." The senator is, of course, after the government to see that this does not happen.

To find and produce the oil is one

thing; to sell it in a buyer's market is another, and apparently more than one capitalist has got the jitters over the prospect of heavy financial loss. It seems that the oil-producing geological processes of the past few million years have played a lousy trick on the companies drilling for a paying flow in this continent, for there are suggestions that the quality of the product is not up to the standard of competitors. Apart from this, however, the adverse factor bugging Australian oil is the meagre flow by average world standards. The local flow rate may prove profitable next century when other wells are drying up, but this is cold comfort to the capitalists who want "a reasonable return" quickly on the millions they have spent. This "reasonable return" apparently carries Australian oil above current world prices to a degree noticeable and discouraging to buyers, so naturally they remain indifferent to the business problems of the sellers.

National Development Minister Sir William Spooner has denied that the question of price has bogged down negotiations between the government and the companies, yet this did not prevent him from saying that:—

If the oil companies remained adamant on the matter of a just price and also failed to lift the whole of the Moonie production, the situation would certainly provoke a head-on collision between some Australian governments and the oil companies.

Oil has had a troubled history wherever it has appeared in the world of capitalism. Australia is no exception. It will be interesting to watch the outcome of the struggle, although it will be of academic importance only as far as workers are concerned. They had nothing before the oil was discovered. They will be in the same position long after the Moonie well has yielded its last drop.

PETER FUREY.

## BRANCH NEWS

More news from Belfast and Glasgow.

Danny McCarthy reports that the Belfast members had good literature sales at both the Easter CND parade and the Conference of the Northern Ireland Labour Party.

A recent demonstration over redundancy was used as an opportunity to put over our case. Danny went along with Comrade Montague, who stated our attitude to the television and radio reporters who were present. Alas, this was not included in the television programme that same evening.

The Irish comrades put their usual hard work into the recent local elections, in which we had a candidate in the Duncairn ward. Danny reports that the response of the Duncairn workers to our appeal for election funds was "truly staggering".

Glasgow report that they had an audience of about eighty at their debate with the Young Liberals, when R. Donnelly put our case. The theme of our May Day meeting in Glasgow was "Abolish the Wages System". The audience numbered over a hundred, seven pound collection was taken and over £2 worth of literature sold.

The Branch contested two wards—North Kelvin and Knightswood—in the municipal elections. Publicity at North Kelvin was limited to intensive canvassing of the *Socialist Standard*—over 450 copies were sold during the previous three months—and the distribution of eight thousand manifestoes. The party polled 134 votes which, Glasgow Branch think, must have contained comparatively few "mistaken" votes.

In Knightswood again our publicity was restricted, although we did get a mention on TV. The Glasgow members slogged away here under tremendous difficulties—they sold the *Socialist Standard* around the doors and they distributed twelve thousand manifestoes. The party polled 297 votes but, as the Branch puts it, "How many of these

were Socialist votes is difficult to say in view of this being the first time we have contested the ward."

Glasgow Branch are a living witness to the fact that hard work for Socialism is the most invigorating thing. Far from being tired after their exertions, they are already planning "a greater effort next year."

We hear from Sunderland that our comrade Clifford Allen addressed the Hylton Estate Workingmen's Club (or rather their Debating Society) last month on the subject "Karl Marx—was he a dreamer or a realist?" His lecture was very well received by an audience of 50, of which 5 were members of the Sunderland Group. The address was followed by extensive discussion and many questions. 11/6d. worth of *Socialist Standard* were sold.

Comrade Allen and the members of the Sunderland group were much encouraged by the results of the lecture and intend to concentrate their efforts on similar activities in the future. There is a move to establish a number of debating societies and discussion groups on the numerous new housing estates in the Sunderland area, and the group hope to give further addresses to these. It is heartening to see such a good start being made to the activities of the Party in the North-east.

The debate at Bromley with INDEC attracted an audience of about 45, of whom half were non-members. Literature sales were only nominal, but there was a collection of £3 4s. 6d.

Will readers and sympathisers in the CHESTER, WREXHAM and NORTH WALES areas interested in forming discussion groups write to S. JONES, Lilac Cottage, Llanasa Road, Gronant, Flintshire, or Miss E. Gallagher, Plot 18, Sandy Cove, The Warren, Gronant Beach, Flintshire.

## The passing show continued from back page

### Good Grivas

It's funny how in the field of statesmanship, supposed enemies of yesterday can become friends of today, and vice versa, depending on the needs of the various ruling groups at the time. History is full of such instances. Stalin after 1945 for example. That was a right-about-turn if ever you saw one. Forgotten were the days when he was a comrade in arms of Churchill and Roosevelt, as the cold war got under way, and more than once the world was pushed perilously close to the brink of another major war. Now the pendulum could be swinging the other way as China develops and Mao becomes the bogymen of the Russian rulers. Then there is President de Gaulle with whom the British government must on many occasions have sworn eternal friendship, but who has been cutting up rough

against British interests in Europe and pursuing his own semi-isolationist policies. Will he be the villain of the piece at some future date?

Take a look at the struggle in Cyprus. A few years ago, Makarios was interned in the Seychelles, only to come back later and shake hands over a peace agreement. But the peace was short lived and the British press rediscovers the blood-stained hands of the Cypriot president. Then into the news steps Grivas, another former enemy of earlier years, described by *The Guardian* of April 13th as "the brains of terrorism".

General George Grivas was prominent for his direction of the campaign against the British from 1955 to 1959, and waged a ruthless struggle against an equally ruthless enemy, with murderous attacks against soldier and civilian alike. So in your innocence you might be astounded to see *The Guardian* editorial, again of April 13th, saying this about him:

... Whether we like it or not, Grivas is a man of influence, purpose, and decision, and ex-enemies with these qualities have helped us mightily in the past... If the General does go back... it might not be the worst thing that has happened to the Cypriots lately. The combination of a strong general and a weak president is not usually desirable, but in a country as lawless as Cyprus it can often bring peace more quickly, even if it does not bring justice.

A few years ago no name was too bad for this Grivas as British troops hunted (but never caught) him from one place to another. But times are changing, and with them the whole balance of strategy in the Mediterranean. What's the betting they'll be pinning a medal on his chest yet?

### Status Symbols

The world is full of them, and workers are among their most ardent supporters. What are we talking about? Status symbols of course. In a sane world where things were produced for use, you would expect an outlook in keeping with it. People would have a pride in producing the best at any given time because this would be the only way to give satisfaction to anyone, either in producing or using a particular article. Within Socialism, therefore, we would take great pride in producing things and in using them but not in owning them.

For pride of ownership is one of the false values that arise from capitalist society, where the forces of production are geared to the profit motive, and social approbation for a person is usually in direct ratio to the amount of wealth he

owns, not to his usefulness to society as a whole. It is not surprising then that the status symbol has such a firm place in working class affections, and is encouraged by the advertising blurbs with words like "... You can be the proud owner of a..." But more than that, for many the status symbol is the pie 'thin crust that conceals the poverty beneath. This is the explanation for the paradox of enormous (mainly second-hand) cars often parked outside the slummiest dwellings. In Windsor a few years ago, over two hundred houses were checked by the G.P.O. and found to have T.V. aerials—but no sets.

Since then, the T.V. craze has slowed down, and people are beginning to discover that cars are not an unmixed blessing in present frantic road conditions. Anyway, a status symbol loses its purpose if everyone has it so when this happens, the seekers must turn their eyes elsewhere. One certainty is that they will never stop looking. According to *The News of the World* recently, sun tans are now much sought after, and for as little as thirty shillings you can get your neighbour thinking you've just come back from a spell in the south of France. A travel agency in London's West End has started a sun bathing salon with ultra-violet lamps, to acclimatise their clients before they go abroad. Now they find that the majority of those using the salon are not going abroad anyway.

Pitiful, you might think? Tragic would be a better word, and as damning an indictment of capitalism as any. This is the system which never lets us really be ourselves, untrammelled and unashamed, but subjects us all the time to the strain of pretence. For many workers self-delusion plays a part in all this—the vain hope that maybe the pretence will one day be transformed into reality if they can only keep it going long enough and strong enough. Socialism, if it did nothing else, would release us from that sort of indignity at least.

E.T.C.

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays:

Hyde Park, 3 pm and 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth (mid-day)  
Beresford Square 8pm

#### Mondays:

Lincolns Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

#### Wednesdays:

Outside Charing Cross Tube Station, Villiers Street

#### Thursdays:

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm  
East Court, 8pm

#### Saturdays

Hyde Park, 7.30pm

## MEETINGS

### PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
(near Marylebone Road and Tube)  
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

June 3rd

### MODS AND ROCKERS

Speaker: Ian Jones

June 10th

### THE RUBBER INDUSTRY

Speaker: J. Carter

June 17th

### DISCUSSION WITH SOLDARITY GROUP

### WEMBLEY

Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Harrow Road, Wembley

Monday 8th June 8pm

### THE GENERAL STRIKE

Speaker: W. Waters

### WELWYN GARDEN CITY

Room 3, Community Centre  
Mill Green Road

Thursday 4th June, 8 pm

### THE CRUSADES

Speaker: L. Dale

Thursday 18th June, 8 pm

### SOCIALISM, UTOPIAN & SCIENTIFIC

Speaker: H. Waite

### WEST LONDON

Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall  
Hammersmith (near Bridge)  
Friday 12th June 8 pm

### LECTURE

Speaker: D. Zucconi



# The Passing Show

## Cheddington—The Reckoning

In just thirty-two minutes during the morning of April 16th, twelve men were sentenced to a total of 307 years imprisonment for their part in the great train robbery. Seven of the unfortunates received thirty years apiece and even the lowest sentence—on John Wheeler the solicitor—was three years. Well might *The Guardian* describe the sentences next day as "a break from tradition", and point out that even in murder cases, a long term is only occasionally given.

It is no part of our business to argue for either side in the case, or to fall in with the idiocy of Methodist Dr. Donald Soper, who condemned the severity of the penalties but wanted Anglicans and Methodists to co-operate in working out a "Christian punishment". Justice Edmund Davies anyway would have had his reply—"A grave crime calls for a grave punishment"—and could probably quote plenty of Bible references and Christian ethics to support him. Probably, too, the majority of people would agree with him, although not without a sneaking admiration for the sheer daring and ingenuity of the whole plot.

Most of those sentenced said they would appeal, but whatever the outcome of this, it is worth repeating the point we made at the time. Those who practice armed robbery are just as much supporters of private property as any capitalist. The robbers of the Cheddington train, did on a much smaller scale of course, what whole groups of capitalist powers do when they go to war from time to time. There is no basic difference, even down to the detail of carving up the spoils afterwards.

In pronouncing sentence, the judge admitted that the crime in its enormity was the first of its kind in the country, and said "I propose to do all within my power to ensure that it will be the last". Which brings us face to face with the old question: does punishment prevent crime? The judge talked earnestly of deterring others "similarly tempted" but clearly failed to face up to the fallacy in his own argument. The thought of punishment obviously did *not* deter the men who did the robbery. It is too much to imagine that most of them at least had not weighed the possibility of arrest as one of the risks of the game, and carried

on planning it just the same. In fact it has been seriously suggested that the Cheddington venture was financed from the proceeds of previous robberies, and if this is true, the deterrent power of punishment has obviously been sadly overrated.

No, crime is just one of the many facets of capitalist society and neither punishment nor a police force can stop it. For the modern criminal has merely responded to the conditions of a scientific and technological age, himself becoming a technician, mastering the know-how of oxy-acetylene cutters, explosives, electrical gear and many other gadgets in the practice of his work. So that most of the time it is a see-saw battle between the police with all their modern means of detection and the boys who seek to outwit them. A battle, after all, between those who already own private property and those who want to take some of it from them. How can this sort of problem be solved by one set of robbers punishing another? The conditions of robbery of any sort must go, and that means the end of capitalism.

## Health Charges and Hypocrisy

Perhaps one thing about being a member of H.M. Opposition in The Commons is that you can get away with just that bit more hypocrisy than H.M. Government. After all, the electors won't blame you for things which go wrong while the other lot are in power and workers' political memories are notoriously short. Anyway, it is about thirteen years since the last Labour government.

And thirteen years is a long enough time to forget the indignities of Labour rule, to forget that quite a number of present Tory policies had their origins in the years of Labour government, and that the Tories have been no more successful in solving working class problems.

Maybe then you would have missed the point of the statement made in the Commons on April 20th by Mr. Kenneth Robinson, Labour M.P. for St. Pancras North and Shadow Minister of Health. The next Labour government would, he said with a flourish, end prescription charges without making cuts anywhere else in the health service to make way for it. Now does your memory stretch back far enough to recall that the very first charges of this sort were imposed by the 1950 Labour government? But not a

## GLASGOW

### SEVEN DAYS FOR SOCIALISM

Saturday 6th June  
Kent Street, 3 pm  
Royal Exchange Square, 3 pm

Sunday 7th June  
Kent Street, 3 pm  
Douglas Street, 8 pm

Tuesday 9th June  
Indoor Meeting, 8 pm  
163a Berkeley Street  
**HISTORY OF GLASGOW BRANCH**  
Speaker: A Shaw

Wednesday 10th June  
Wellington Street, 8 pm

Friday 12th June  
Indoor Meeting, 8 pm  
163a Berkeley Street  
**HISTORY OF THE SPGB**  
Speaker: Gilmae

Saturday 13th June  
Kent Street, 3 pm  
Royal Exchange Square, 3 pm  
Evening Social  
163a Berkeley Street

Sunday 14th June  
Kent Street, 3 pm  
Miller Street, 3 pm  
Indoor Meeting  
McLellan Galleries  
**SIXTY YEARS OF STRUGGLE**  
Speakers: Gilmae, T. Mulheron

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whisper of this from Mr. Robinson.

Such a pledge will of course go down well with pensioners and others, whose plight forces them to count every penny they spend. At the same time it gives us an inkling of the contempt in which Labourites as well as Tories hold those who vote for them, the assumption being that a miserable few shillingworth of pep pills and potions mark the limits of working class ambitions. Ironically and tragically, though, this is pretty near the truth, because working class ignorance means that arguments over crumbs like this can often cause a heated election tussle, while a terrifying problem like nuclear war can be all forgotten.

But health charges or H-bombs, the one thing which does not occur to workers is that they have their origin in the Capitalist system. Stubborn in their political ignorance, they hope to eliminate these problems and leave the cause intact—and that perhaps is the supreme irony of all.

continued page 99



# **Socialist Standard**

**"The Labour Party accepts the capitalist system without qualification. At one time it could be said to have some principles even though they were hopelessly mistaken. Once it had a vision of a New Society. This is no longer so. Today the Labour Party is one of the two great electoral machines competing for power against the background of the capitalist system. It is Tweedledum to the Conservatives Tweedledee."**

## **LABOUR PARTY ILLUSION**

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**ROOTES AND CHRYSLER**

**THE AMERICAN CONVENTIONS**

**PERUVIAN TRAGEDY**

**MORE ABOUT TROTSKY**

**FINANCE AND INDUSTRY**





## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 2nd and 16th July 8 pm: Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm: 3rd July at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. BEX 1950) and 17th July at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Carr at above latter address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, NS.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursday 2nd and 16th July 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

## 60 YEARS FOR SOCIALISM

On June 12th 1904 the SPGB was founded and in September 1904 the first number of the *Socialist Standard* appeared. To mark the 60th anniversary of these historic events the September *Socialist Standard* will be enlarged and carry special features for the occasion.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (8th July) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** From 13th July, fortnightly Room 3 Community Centre, Leigh-on-Sea 8 pm. Correspondence: A. Partner, 28 Hambro Hill, Raleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (6th and 20th July) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Walcham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (9th and 23rd July in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettie's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 17 Dorset Road, N.22. Correspondence to: E. L. McKone at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (10th and 24th July) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neusdd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kamp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meetings from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly. Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

July 1964 Vol 60 No 719

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain and the World  
Socialist Party of Ireland



### SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting July 26th.

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## The American Conventions

The two big American parties are now about to hold the Conventions—the Republicans at San Francisco this month, the Democrats at Atlantic City in August—which will select their candidates for the Presidential election in November.

The Conventions' job is to pick the man who will pull in the most votes for his party; as such, they are themselves part of the election campaign. They usually wear a public face of enthusiastic confidence, expressed in fatuously massive banners, frenzied parades around the hall and similar ballyhoo. But behind this facade, in guarded rooms, the reality is grimly faced and tense bargaining often goes on, as the delegations trade their support in exchange for pledges of political patronage.

The Democratic Convention promises to be a triumphantly straightforward affair, a formal endorsement of President Johnson as their man. Johnson has so far demonstrated that he has most of the faculties which capitalism's leaders normally require—physical toughness, political skill, ruthlessness, a flair for publicity and what we can very loosely call a little bit of luck.

Since he took over in November last, Johnson has built himself onto one of the biggest vote winners his party has ever had; the public opinion polls consistently give him the support of about three-quarters of the American electorate. If there were any argument about his nomination, this fact would clinch it. There is no reason to suppose that at Atlantic City next month the banners will wave, the button badges will be worn, the cheer leaders will carol, for anyone other than Lyndon B. Johnson.

The Republicans are in different straits. Not for over twenty years have they selected a candidate who did not stand for what are called "liberal" policies—a measure of state insurance, medical aid and so on. This was why nobody took Senator Barry Goldwater seriously when he announced, some months ago, that he was in the race for the nomination.

But Goldwater, like Kennedy in 1960, has demonstrated that an initially doubtful candidate can break down the forces against him by proving his ability to attract votes in primary elections. While his opponents in the Republican Party have been divided among themselves, the Senator has been systematically amassing delegates' votes.

He goes to San Francisco as the favourite. Of the men who are expected to stand against him, Rockefeller has shown that he has not got the requisite voting pull. The big opposition to Goldwater may therefore come from one of the men who, although they have yet to intervene in any force, would probably dearly like the nomination: Nixon, Scranton, Lodge.

It will be a tough fight, for the Senator's bandwagon is now rolling briskly along. His policies may strike some people as inane and irresponsible but a great many others approve them. Goldwater's victory in California came after his famous indiscreet advocacy of the use of nuclear weapons in Indo-China—and even after he had made things worse by appearing to be confused over exactly what he had said.

The industrial areas may dislike his opposition to unemployment and sickness insurance but millions of other Americans support him on this, because they think that such schemes undermine what they are pleased to call their self-reliance. Goldwater gives the impression that he would like to see the United States lose interest in Europe: this is an idea not unfavourably received by the American electorate. *The Economist* of 6th June last speculated: "... even President Johnson might be pressed to cover his right flank by saying things that created the same impression."



## DEBATE

Wednesday, 22nd July, 7.30 pm

Bethnal Green Town Hall  
Cambridge Heath Rd., E8  
(room 3, Patriot Sq. entrance)

# "WHICH PARTY SHOULD THE WORKING CLASS SUPPORT?"

For the Fellowship Party  
R. Mallone  
(Prospective Parliamentary Candidate  
for Woolwich South)

For SPGB: D. Zucconi

All of this could mean that Goldwater is not such a vote-loser as some of his party think. At the moment, so certain does their defeat seem to be, that they have little to lose, and Goldwater has been the only man up to now who has shown that he knows how to get down to the grass roots of ignorance.

If he does get the nomination he will probably be supported, by the customary cynical balancing act, with a "liberal" candidate for the Vice-Presidency. This would be designed to take the edge off Goldwater's more wild views so that he could gather votes from a wider circle, in the same way that Johnson's Southern origins were supposed to compensate for Kennedy's New England brashness.

On this score again, the Democrats do not have the same problems as their opponents. Johnson is so much all things to all men, he fits in so well in the business of universal vote-gathering, that he has no electoral edge to take off. He needs nobody to balance him; the post of Vice-President is, therefore, probably at his disposal exclusively.

Whoever fights it out in November, the election will be the usual depressing affair. The American voters will give their verdict on all the familiar issues of reform and futility, ignoring the real issue—Capitalism or Socialism—which faces them all the time.

When the banners have been put away, when the ticker tape has been swept up, when the drum majorettes are resting their aching legs, and when the next President is settled in the White House, Capitalism will grind on, spreading confusion and despair on all sides.

## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

## POLITICS

## Faversham

In one by election after another the Labour Party continues to notch up successes.

As each result is declared, both sides set their statisticians to work to show the voting figures in the most favourable light for them.

A Devizes sends the Tories into raptures—the dark night, they croon, is passing and brighter days are ahead. A Faversham puts the Labour Party back onto its hopeful feet, sets its mouth watering again at the prospect of power which, they think, is almost theirs.

A lot of this enthusiasm is inspired by the theory that nothing succeeds like success, that a big vote in one election begets an even bigger one at a later poll. That is why a party only rarely admits to having taken a beating in a fair and square fight. There is always some aspect of the poll which, selected and perhaps exaggerated, can take the edge off a defeat, and they play this up for all they are worth.

At Faversham the Tories showed their disappointment by dropping their beaten candidate, Mrs. Olsen. From the reports which came from the constituency, Mrs. Olsen did not seem to offer a very effective counter to the Labour candidate's

earnestly sympathetic appearance, which apparently impressed a lot of voters as sincere.

Mrs. Olsen tried to blow up Nationalisation as an issue, while Labour's Mr. Boston was playing upon the elector's preoccupation with food prices, rates and unemployment. In a constituency where the workless are something of a problem, the Labour line proved the better vote catcher.

In one of her statements, Mrs. Olsen revealed one of the prejudices (although perhaps she does not hold it herself) which affects a lot of the capitalist parties' propaganda. Talking about Nationalisation, she said: "It is worrying people . . . even housewives who are not supposed to be interested."

Nobody has yet adequately explained why housewives—or any other women—should not be interested in political matters. This is one of the comfortable delusions which, as part of a wider ignorance and prejudice, helps to keep private property in existence. It is unfortunate that the delusion is as firmly held by many women as it is by most men.

And just like any other social prejudice, it has to go. The ending of the social distinction between the sexes will be one of the aspects of the humane world system in which the political parties which prey upon ignorance will be defunct.

## ABROAD

## Nehru

The death of Pandit Nehru provoked the customary valedictions from the world's top statesmen, who are of course no more sincere in their expressed opinions about a man after he is dead than they are when he is alive.

At the Albert Hall meeting where tribute was paid to the dead leader, Sir Alex Douglas-Home said that Nehru was a man of contrasts. Indeed he was—in some ways which Sir Alec could not have had in mind.

Nehru was a professed man of peace who saw nothing wrong in the war over Kashmir, nor in the forcible occupation of Portuguese Goa. He was the accepted leader of what are called the non-committed nations, although he was committed up to his neck in the frontier dispute with China. He was the man who foreswore the production of nuclear weapons—as long as his country had no use for them.

When I asked what sort of conclusions his Government had reached when it studied the future of policy in Asia between a nuclear China and non-nuclear India, he replied with remarkable frankness and warmth that he was afraid that as a Government they had not given it

It is with regret that we have to report the death of two members.

## PERCY HALLARD

Percy Hallard died in June after a long illness at the age of 70. He joined the Party in 1914 and was secretary of West Ham Branch for 35 years. It was said that Comrade Hallard and West Ham Branch were synonymous, and this was not far from the truth. He was his branch's bulwark, and his hard work and capable organising bore splendid fruit. He helped the Dagenham Branch in the early 1930's to get going, and contributed enormously in the East Ham electoral campaign which culminated in the Party contesting East Ham South in 1951.

He will not be forgotten by the many West Ham members he encouraged and stimulated into Party activity. Other members will remember him as a West Ham delegate at Party Conferences, where his contributions were constructive, good humoured and always to the

point. Percy Hallard was an unassuming man, open and friendly to everyone. He will be sadly missed. Our sympathy and regards go to his wife, and our comrade, Mag Hallard.

## JOHN BOUCHER

John Boucher died suddenly on June 3rd. He collapsed after phoning Head Office to say he was not feeling well and would not be at the Executive Meeting that night. He was 52 and joined the Party in 1933, and apart from seven years in South Africa, he had been a member of Wood Green Branch (under its various names) all that time. For his branch he tried his hand at everything. Before the war he spoke outdoors regularly at Jolly Butchers Hill. He did not find public speaking easy, but by carefully preparing notes before each meeting he spoke to attentive audiences. At times

Wood Green Branch activities were centred on his home.

John Boucher was General Secretary of the Party for a short time at the beginning of the last war until he was imprisoned for refusing to obey Government direction. He served on the Executive Committee off and on for a number of years. He had been a most able member of the Finance Committee and also a Party Auditor. He was always willing to carry out routine office work, typing reports and efficiently doing the endless jobs that are essential to an organisation like ourselves.

He was without guile, direct in speech and behind the reserve very human. Our comrade Boucher will be remembered for many things: especially for his entire devotion to the Party and his constant concern in improving its efficiency and well being. The Party will be the poorer and sadder without him.

much thought. (*The Guardian*, 23/10/61.)

He was—and this is the clue to an understanding of Nehru's career—the alleged Socialist who was busily building what he hoped would one day be a great capitalist nation.

It is at this point that we realise there was nothing of contrast in Nehru. He was presiding over the transformation from one type of property system to another in India and it is not unusual for this to be passed off as Socialist policy. Nor is there anything exceptional in the double-talk and double-think inseparable from this process.

Nehru's problems were massive. In his efforts to build capitalism in India he was confronted by a vast population seething with every kind of primitive mysticism and religious prejudice. These delusions do not mix with an economic and social structure based upon complex commodity manufacture; Nehru spent a lot of his life trying to break them down.

In the end, as we all know, the prejudices were not ready to admit defeat and Nehru, the great non-believer, was cremated in the same way as a great religious leader.

But he has made his niche as one of capitalism's innovators. His successors will carry on where he left off, trying to persuade the beggar in the dust that he will be better off as a member of an industrial proletariat, with chains of

poverty which are thinner and lighter, but just as real and strong as those which bind him down today.

## AT HOME

## Epidemic

For the most part, modern society has a pretty tight grip on diseases like typhoid. Capitalism judges everything by its balance sheet and in this case it is preferable to make the initial investment in prevention of the disease rather than to be continually fighting epidemics of it. Sometimes the balance sheet comes up with the opposite conclusion and we all know what happens then. . . .

But the odd concern, in the hope of making a bit more quick money, will occasionally take a chance with the rules of public hygiene. This was the reason for the outbreak at Zermatt (which is now gingerly once more advertising its attrac-

tions as a holiday resort). It was also the reason for the lack of precautions in the corned beef factories in Argentina which were apparently responsible for Aberdeen's epidemic.

As in the case of Zermatt the facts are only slowly coming out and they are not pleasant. It now seems that the British government were aware of the risk in the corned beef over a year ago but, in the words of Scottish Minister Mr. Peter Noble, they considered it "not wise" to withdraw the stuff on "the scantiest evidence."

Presumably the typhoid sufferers take a rather different view on the scantiness of the evidence and on the wisdom of clamping down on the suspect meat.

But when all this has been said, the basic fact remains. Typhoid is a disease of social negligence. Despite what the meat companies say, corned beef is not one of the world's prized delicacies; it is a typical working class food—substandard, mass produced, supermarket sold.

And once typhoid gets a grip it flourishes best in the most depressed living conditions—in the overcrowded rooms, in the shared lavatories and in the slum tenements which have no easy means of heating water for washing.

It is ironic that, in conformity with its profit motive, capitalism should spend so much in keeping diseases in check yet should sometimes be defeated by its very

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own economic conditions. But there is no irony in the fact that, when this happens, it is the same old working class who suffer.

## BUSINESS

### Rootes & Chrysler

It has been apparent for some time that Rootes were nervous about the magnitude of their gamble on their baby car, the Imp, which has tied up so much capital in the factory at Linwood.

The link-up with the American owned Chrysler Corporation is probably a result of this gamble—a method by which Rootes hope to strengthen their financial foundations to withstand any storm which may follow their Linwood investment.

Chrysler, whose fortunes have only recently been revived in the States, were looking around for just such an opportunity. Now some financial seers are predicting that before long Rootes will be entirely under American ownership and control, like Fords and Vauxhalls.

This is the sort of wicket on which the Labour Party thinks they can make a lot of runs. Their leading batsmen were soon hitting out. Mr. Callaghan wanted to know what steps were being taken to ensure that there would be no further dealing in Rootes shares to take control of the company outside the United Kingdom. Mr. Wilson went even further—he wanted guarantees about not only American but also “German or other foreign” interests.

This is the most blatant of playing up to nationalist prejudices. The Labour government of 1945 saw nothing wrong in this country accepting the American encroachments which went under the name of Marshall Aid.

The present Labour Party, at any rate while they are in opposition, attack foreign investment in this country as the invasions of money-mad international manipulators. But they also think that the opposite process—British investments and subsidiaries abroad—is an excellent idea, the fruits of good old British enterprise.

This doubtless goes down well enough with patriotic voters who once believed the Labour Party when they used to talk about being an internationalist organisation. Now all that nonsense has been dropped, which may mean a few more votes for Labour candidates.

The deal between Rootes and Chryslers was good business from the point of view of their profit accounts—which is the only viewpoint they are interested in. Capitalism is lubricated by such deals, and is powered by the motive for them.

And if the business deals are something to be expected, so is the dishonest reaction of political parties.

## ABROAD

### Goldwater

Whatever happens at the Republican Convention at San Francisco this month, Senator Goldwater has established himself as a serious force in American politics.

Once he was laughed at, for his quaint notions about Reds under the beds and his itching button-finger. The results of the Presidential primaries have shown that Goldwater's neuroses are shared by millions of what are usually called normal, decent Americans.

Goldwater stands unashamedly for reaction. He stands for States Rights at a time when American capitalism is trying to resolve many of its problems by increasing pressure, and power, from the

Federal centre. He stands against State insurance schemes just as their value to American capitalism is becoming so apparent. He stands for an extreme—some would say fatally impetuous—foreign policy towards Russia at the moment when the American ruling class may be on the verge of allying itself with the Soviet Union in face of a possible longer term threat from China.

Goldwater probably appeals to the uninformed and apathetic sentiments of those American workers who are impressed by his rugged frontiersman's facade. (They presumably ignore the fact that the Senator is descended from a Jewish family, who were not among the now-romanticised pioneers.)

But in his present vein Goldwater does not offer the policies which United States capitalism needs if it is to hold its dominant world position. Said *The Economist* of June 6th last: “... he has not grasped the nature of the power his country wields in the nineteen-sixties.” Yet he could turn out no different from the other demagogues who have climbed to power on extreme propaganda and have then had their wilder notions tamed by the realities of office. Perhaps it is true that, as Governor Scranton—the one time hope of the anti-Goldwater brigade—said, the Senator is “not as conservative as he thinks.”

For the moment Goldwater is committed to his present line and will, therefore, probably continue to thump it out if he gets the Republican nomination. If—and this is as massive an “if” as ever was postulated—he becomes President he may well alter his line to fit in with the requirements of American capitalism.

We are accustomed now to the policy reversals of so-called Left Wing politicians when they are catapulted into power. A President Goldwater, as a Right Winger doing the same thing, would make an interesting item for the scrap book.

## On the pin

OKLAHOMA CITY, USA, has the unpleasant distinction of being the site of an experiment in discomfort. Some Oklahomans are protesting at this and there can be little wonder that they are. But experiments on human beings in the mass are not a novelty; they are, in fact, going on all the time.

Each morning for the past five months, jet aircraft have flown backwards and forwards over Oklahoma City, deliberately breaking through the sound barrier about half a dozen times between seven o'clock and about half past one. This will go on, day after day, until the beginning of next month.

The object of these experiments is to find out the effect which sonic booms have upon the people on the ground. Now that the American aircraft industry has entered the international race to build a supersonic airliner, the Federal Aviation Authority (FAA) is trying to discover what would constitute an aircraft “acceptable” to the people it will fly over. There is no doubt that the projected airliner will be an excessive nuisance; the FAA are experimenting to find out the limits to which the nuisance can go. How much noise and other discomfort will people stand?

There has inevitably been some protest from Oklahoma City, a small part of whose 500,000 people not see why their homes should be damaged (windows have broken, walls have sagged and bulged, plaster has split under the boom), their nerves shattered and their lives endangered (one ceiling which came down in the Negro section of the City narrowly missed a six year old child), in the cause of building a bigger, faster, noisier, more objectionable aircraft than those which already cause considerable disturbance.

The FAA has offered a conciliatory front to the protestors—they even promised to call off the experiments if the City authorities asked them to. But not all of Oklahoma's citizens dislike the booms (we shall come to the reason for this in a moment), so no such request has been made. In any event, there is little doubt that, whatever Oklahoma or any other community may say, the world is going to be pestered by the supersonic airliners.

The protests of the people who live around London Airport have not been able to reduce the noise nuisance there; in fact, jet flights, which are the main culprits, steadily increase. Occasionally the government pulls off a dishonest trick. As the pace of competition among the jet operators gets hotter, the airlines make frequent application to be allowed to step up their allocation of flights—sometimes night flights. It is not unknown for the Ministry of Aviation to grant only part of such applications; and to follow this with such a hullabaloo about their professed concern for the eardrums of the people around the airport that the fact that they have actually granted an increase in flights goes almost unnoticed.

The reason for the popularity of the big jets is that they are one of the cheapest methods of moving people over long distances by air that has ever been discovered. This means that their operators can hope to make big profits from them. If this should apply also to the supersonic liner, then that monster will before long be crashing about over our heads.

The thing which will stop the supersonic project will not be the demonstrations of the people who will be driven to distraction by it. It will not be because the thing is officially considered to be too great an assault upon human living conditions. The airliner will be abandoned if it is proved to be so crushingly unprofitable that the nations who are now racing to build it are persuaded that their economic interests are better served by dropping the project.

This has happened before. The post war years are littered

with aircraft—the Brabazon, the Princess flying boat—which did not make the commercial grade. Others—the Vanguard, for example—only scraped in and were immediately an economic embarrassment. The development of the helicopter as an inter city link has been held in check not because it is a deafeningly clacking contraption (which it is) but because its operators have not been able to make it pay.

We may reflect, with a wry smile, upon the fact that up to now the most profitable aircraft have also been among the most objectionable. So we have got the jets, whose throaty scream drowns all conversation as they pass overhead at a height at which the traditional piston engine would hardly be noticed. And we have not got the flying boats, which might have been that much less of a nuisance because their airports would have probably been built on the coast. If this unfortunate circumstance is anything like a constant rule, the supersonic jets will be profitable. And we shall look back wistfully to the comparatively peaceful days when simple 707's thundered over the roof-tops.

The Oklahoma experiments will then be consigned to embarrassed history. But other experiments, in different fields, will go on. Day after day, for example, we are subjected to investigation by what are officially known as market research organisations. Smooth, earnestly bespectacled young men call at our front doors, flick over plastic pictures of electric shavers, challenging us to identify their makers. (The writer, who has a weakness for electric shavers and who therefore devours all the ads for them, came out with full marks for this, but was disappointed not to receive a prize.)

The same young men may come back again some time later, with other questions about other products. They do not call at every house. They “sample” us, which perhaps makes some people feel like rare sherry, except that rare sherry is more respected by its drinkers than we are by our masters.

The smart young men have even divided us into groups, according to the jobs we do and how much we get for it. A company director is probably in group A or B. A tool maker may be somewhere in Group C. And so on down the alphabet, until somewhere among the E's are the people who scrape along on National Assistance.

None of the smart young men seem to see anything wrong in this. Most of them are anxious to identify themselves with the market research herd, dressing, talking and even combing their hair to the same pattern. They could have stepped straight out of those exceedingly irritating advertisements which, by a novel stroke, tell us when *not* to chew gum. They look out at the world with confident eyes, convinced of their ability to sell it absolutely anything.

The reason for this sort of activity—to use a rather delicate word for it—is that capitalist industry must always be obsessed by its markets. Profit is at the moment the primary objective of production—but although it is *made* when the goods are produced, profit can only be *realised* when they are sold. It did not take capitalism long to realise that it had better try to get to know its markets. So they are constantly sampling us, experimenting on us, sending out their smart young men to put us under their microscopes.

They may even try to alter a market, to persuade us to stop buying one type of product and to start buying another. Or they may try to open up new markets, with goods which have not been widely sold before. (Any day now, for example, we shall be swamped with advertisements for central heating systems.)

In Oklahoma, as a matter of fact, some of the business

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interests desecrate a market in the sonic booms. The local Chamber of Commerce hope that, if the experiments help to turn out an "acceptable" aircraft, Oklahoma's airfield will be developed as one of the world's first supersonic airports. Speculating on this prospect, they have already bought up a lot of land around the airfield. Hungrily they look to the business which a supersonic airport would bring them—the contracts to build and to supply, and the extra population which would come to the area. Dazzled by visions of the golden economic boom, the business men of Oklahoma City have no eyes for the distress which the sonic booms will cause to the people of the area.

Experiments are not confined to the commercial field. Everyone knows that the great publicity drive which the Conservative Party launched before their victory in 1959 was managed by one of this country's leading advertising agencies. This agency did not rush out haphazardly, slapping up hastily designed posters in any old place. They first of all took their sample of what they call public opinion, they made their experiments and they thought around it all. Only then did they decide on the line which their publicity should take.

The lessons of that defeat were not wasted upon the Labour Party. They assembled their own force of high powered admen, who gravely discussed which line they should adopt. Should they plug Nationalisation? Pensions? Roads? Out of all this came the Let's Go slogan, and the thumbs up sign—and is it only coincidence that Mr. Wilson is now inseparable from his pipe?

All of this effort has gone into finding out what the people will bear in the way of election propaganda, in the same way as the Oklahoma experiments are supposed to find out what they will bear in the way of thunder over their heads. It has gone into finding out what political image will appeal most to the voters' ignorance and apathy. That is why the Tories no longer present themselves as the party born with a divine right to rule and why Labour has stuffed away its cloth cap, which is now worn only at events like Miners' Galas.

## PERUVIAN TRAGEDY

FOOTBALL matches are not usually connected with carnage, but the massacre at Lima showed that human passion can cause untold misery and horror in almost any social activity or in any place, if the conditions happen to be there.

With a death roll at over three hundred, the newspapers brought us a wider picture of the tragedy, with stories of police firing on rioting fans, the exits covered with steel barriers to keep out gate crashers, and riots continuing outside the stadium while the dead were being identified or removed.

Many blame the police, who arrested a certain rabble-rouser nicknamed "Bomba." Probably many Peruvians will not bother to ask why the police were necessary in force at a football match, why there were steel barriers, why

the fans threw concrete lumps and fencing rubble to express their displeasure. One could be excused for dismissing the whole affair as just another example of human stupidity coupled with Latin temperament, but the temptation of such cursory examination must be resisted.

Peru seems a distant land that only figures infrequently in the news; a country that most know little—and care less—about. The economy and politics of the country are something of a closed book to the popular press. Recently a book by John Sykes called *Family in Peru* was published. By no means a profound work, it is an impression of the outlook and attitudes of some of the people the author met during his stay. He points out that 1.6 per cent. of the population own 76 per cent. of the land—an

Nobody is exempt from such investigations—even the investigators themselves. That paunchy, florid sales executive, poring over the latest market research returns, enunciating in careful accents through his teeth, does not escape. He, too, is part of a market, to be assessed and experimented upon. Even the chewing gum makers are after him, along with the car firms and the people who try to persuade him that theirs is the best way of suppressing his ulcers.

Capitalism exploits and restricts its entire working class. But more than that, it degrades us in a multitude of ways. It has us wriggling on a pin on its observation board, and is carefully noting our every twitch and spasm. Does that spasm indicate that we would prefer another sort of pin? Does that twitch mean that we want one with a different shape head? If there's money in it, capitalism is interested.

Maybe the working class do not object to this. In moments of despair, it even seems that they actually like it. In which case they do not object to, they like, blatant humiliation.

But, as Vera Lynn never tired of pointing out, somewhere there is a silver lining. Whatever the result of the experiments, and whether any notice is taken of them or not, they do prove one thing. We count. Mass opinion is important. At the moment, it is all mass ignorance; but if it were mass knowledge. . . . If the people refused to chew gum, or take plastic spoons with their detergent powder, if they said a unanimous No to supersonic aircraft, all these things would have to stop.

There is one obvious qualification to this. If ever people got around to thinking like that, they would almost certainly be on the verge of saying the biggest-ever No. They would be about to say No to capitalism itself, to its grisly experiments, its cynical posturings and its ruthless degradations. There is a moral in this for us all, for the deafened folk of Oklahoma, for the canvassed, sampled, classified, humiliated people of the world.

Stop wriggling and get off that pin.

IVAN.

## Russian Diamonds

FOR some years Russian diamonds have been sold in the world market through the South African, De Beers diamond organisation.

The Chairman of the De Beers Company, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, recently announced that the agreement they signed with the Russians in January, 1960, is not being renewed, but that is only half the story. All the sellers of gem and industrial diamonds have an interest in keeping prices high and stable, and in wanting to protect themselves against a heavy price fall, which might happen if somebody broke away and flooded the market with diamonds at cut prices. So although the contract with the company is ended, there is no likelihood of any Russian attempt to undersell the Central Selling Organization which regulates the market. As Mr. Oppenheimer puts it:—

... On account of Russian support for the boycotting of trade with S. Africa, our contract to buy Russian diamonds has not been renewed. These changes will not, however, disrupt the centralised marketing organisation in London, which is essential in the interests of all diamond producing countries, whatever the political differences between them may be. (Guardian, 16 May, 1964).

During the past year the diamond market and the price level were threatened from another quarter, the Congo. Owing to the breakdown of governmental control diamonds were being illegally mined and exported and

offered at prices below the world levels. This danger to profits now seems to have passed:—

Fortunately, the Congo Government, which risked incurring severe losses, both in taxation receipts and on foreign exchange, is taking energetic steps to restore law and order in the main diamond-producing area with very satisfactory results.

There are no doubt people in the Congo who take a different view about the "satisfactory" nature of these "energetic steps," but as far as De Beers are concerned the whole year was more than satisfactory, total diamond revenue being up by about 30 per cent. at a total of nearly 82 million Rands (about £41 million).

De Beers ran up against other problems with several African governments because it was politically awkward for these governments to allow the locally mined diamonds to be sold through a company registered in South Africa. The solution has been found. All of these diamonds are now bought "by companies registered and managed outside the Republic of South Africa and which are not subsidiaries of De Beers."

It matters less to De Beers to keep direct control of the subsidiary buying companies than it does to keep up the world price of diamonds, and in 1963/4 they recorded a rise in the price of gem diamonds of about fifteen per cent.

H.

"The Socialist Party of Gr. Britain will be contesting Bromley (London) and Woodside (Glasgow) in the forth-coming General Election."

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full of unemployed and of employed slum proletariat.

In the towns the professional and student groups, along with the urban working class, have often given their support to a party called APRA whose policies (though Sykes does not say so) seem to be typical of the rising native capitalist class that is also known in many other countries. The main props of APRA's aims are land reform, greater Peruvian industrial expansion, improved conditions for workers and peasants, more democracy, greater need and opportunities for technical skill. The Peruvian working class is still undeveloped by European and North American standards, weakened and weighed down by

peons and peasants and a democracy that is strictly confined to paper. Because of this APRA which, like all political parties, can only rule on mass support, were in 1936 and 1945 turfed from power by the generals and the army in the interests of the large land owners.

Sykes felt the sense of frustration in a land suffering from industrial growing pains, a feeling of simmering violence about to erupt at any instigation. By understanding such conditions, one can get some small idea of the reasons for the pointless violence which spewed up in the football stadium. Sporting events to these people are an outlet for all their hates and fears, which they do not, or are unable to, express in a collective fashion. The blind fury of the depressed mob seeking revenge on any scapegoat was often a feature of 18th and 19th century Europe, and it has not by any means

disappeared from the present social scene.

As industry and capitalism develops in Peru the workers will learn to canalise their protests into trade union and political action. Improved though many aspects of life will be for them, they will still be the class that produces wealth for a minority. Poverty, relative and real, will be their lot and frustrations in new ways as well as the old will always be there. They may renounce the escape routes of football violence and coca leaves for less spectacular narcotics, such as bingo and purple hearts, but while they and workers in other lands remain a subject class, that will be their lot in life.

JACK LAW.



## More about Trotsky

THE PROPHET OUTCAST, by Isaac Deutscher, Oxford University Press, 45s.

This is the last of the three volumes of Deutscher's magnum opus—the biography of his hero Leon Trotsky.

It is not likely that many members of the working class of our affluent society will be able to afford to buy it. Nor, in truth, is a great deal of its bulk (nearly 500 pages) worth ploughing through. Much of its value is of a rather negative kind, demonstrating the type of thought and action we should avoid. And, willy nilly, the author tells us at least as much as about his own mental processes as a "trotskyist" (the inverted commas are essential; one is no surer at the end than at the beginning what kind of an animal a trotskyist is) as about the career of his subject.

The book takes us from the banishment of Trotsky from Russia by Stalin in 1929 to his butchery (the phrase is literal enough; the end was achieved with an ice-axe) by a Stalinist thug in 1940. It consists of a record of his life in the various countries of his refuge (Turkey, Norway, France and Mexico) and of his personal and family hardships and tragedies, which were indeed many and moving. At the same time, it recounts the story of his political thought and action during those eventful years. It is, of course, with these that we are mainly concerned here.

Immediately, we are up against the negative aspect of the whole Trotsky saga. The first thing any student of politics would like to know is: what was the real difference that divided the hero of this book from the villain? What profound principle formed the basis of the murderous feud between these two men, both of whom called themselves communists? Well, here is one reviewer at least who is no wiser now than when he started.

On the contrary, time and again we find that on issues which appear to be really burning—matters like the forced collectivisation of the peasants, for example—fierce invective against Stalin for doing the opposite of what Trotsky in exile advocated, is followed by bitter criticism of Stalin for in due course altering his tactics and doing the very thing that Trotsky advocated. As usual among politicians this leads not to gratification but to sour frustration and accusations of stealing clothing (or thunder, as the case may be).

How familiar all this is to us in

England; and how excruciatingly boring. How often have we heard the Labour Party moan that all its best policies are pinched by the wicked Tories? It never seems to occur to them that either way the masses they are supposed to represent are going to get the "benefit" of the policies they claim will be so good for them. Nowhere in this book do we get the slightest hint that either Trotsky himself, or Deutscher, or any other of the characters that flit across the pages, has the faintest realisation that there must be something odd about their own policies if a monster like Stalin can adopt them, even tardily. And, above all, if the result of this adoption left all the evils of capitalist society as prevalent in Russia as they could be.

Trotsky was undoubtedly a man of considerable intellectual capacity. The author proudly tells us at the end that a post mortem on his hero's brain necessitated by the murderous smashing of his skull, revealed a brain weighing two pounds and thirteen ounces, which is apparently very much larger than normal. His ability is revealed all through the book—in copious quotations from his writings. And it is impossible to dispute the fact that Deutscher, too, has a brain of some weight. But what does all this amount to? For practical purposes, it all adds up to nothing of any moment at all.

One searches in vain for some sort of focus to find out what all the fire and fury was about. In all the thousands of words, not a word to tell us what is this "communism" that the two great protagonists were supposed to be fighting about. On the contrary, it is made abundantly clear that both sides agreed that State capitalism was Socialism. And Deutscher makes no secret of the fact that he, too, is satisfied to swallow and indeed to propagate this flagrant contradiction.

On page 55, for example, he makes it clear that he agrees with Trotsky that the working class in Russia cannot be exploited because there is no class which owns the means of production. He apparently does not even begin to see the truth of the matter which is that the Russian worker has to get up to the sound of a similar alarm clock as wakes his British counterpart, and do his stint by the day or the week for a wage which will enable him to keep himself and his family until the next wage comes along. That his only choice is to do that or starve. And that, as the fruits of his labours are removed from him in the

same way as they are here, then someone must be enjoying the fruits of that exploitation.

Instead, Deutscher blinds himself with talk about power being in the hands of the proletariat—without, of course, a tittle of evidence to show that this is anything other than a grotesque fraud and that the proletariat in Russia is as powerless as in England; more so in fact, since it has not even the power of a free vote in a semblance of a democracy.

It is as a result of such basic misconceptions that we get episodes which are merely farcical, but to Deutscher are intensely puzzling—such as the difference between groups of Trotskyists as to whether they should support Russia or China over the possession of the Manchurian Railway. Or, still more breathtaking, the spectacle of Trotsky supporting the treacherous grabbing by Stalin (by arrangement with Hitler) of Eastern Poland and the Baltic States because the local capitalists were thereby expropriated. It never seems to occur to these intellectuals that whenever the workers of such countries get a chance to show what they think of their "improved" position as a result of such happenings, they vote with their feet by the hundred thousand so that the communists have to build walls and barbed wire fences to keep the faithless ones in their compulsory heaven.

Running through this book like a grisly thread is the story of the terrible purges which Stalin was perpetrating in this period, and which indeed went on long after Trotsky's death. Trotsky's friends and his own children were, of course, among the prominent victims of this appalling holocaust and it is impossible not to feel profoundly moved by his sufferings, even though one is ever conscious of the fact that the basic philosophy of it all, the reign of terror and the slogan that "the end justifies the means," was born of the basic flaw which we exposed right back in 1917—namely, the theory that a small clique of elite communists can capture power for the purpose of giving Socialism to a non-socialist working class. Trotsky himself was one of the arch-perpetrators of the Bolshevik reign of terror and he himself must have been haunted by the ghosts of those whom he had sent to their doom.

The purge trials, in which Stalin staged the judicial murder of all the famous old bolsheviks he could lay his hands on, may seem like a dim and distant history to most people, but some of the names in the book make one realise that it is all not so long ago and that there are still

people very much with us in England today whose attitude while the murders were actually being committed was to justify them. Trotsky complains bitterly, for example, about the equivocal attitude of Kingsley Martin who was the editor of the *New Statesman* in those days and who defended the stand taken by the then Labour M.P. and barrister D. N. Pritt, Q.C., the man who appointed himself the apologist-in-chief in this country for Stalin's murders. The former would no doubt like to forget, but Pritt is still being trotted out by the communists here at their rallies and it really is quite eerie to see, as large as life and as brazen as ever, one who insisted that the confessions were genuine of people who are now being resuscitated (though not revived) by Stalin's former accomplice Krushev.

But one turns quickly from such people to Deutscher himself. And here we must find room to single out one case which throws a lurid light on the whole dreadful business and on the attitude of Trotskyists and Stalinists alike, the case

of Krestinsky, a former Soviet Foreign Minister. This leading Trotskyist did something that apparently nobody else did in all those fearful years; he retracted in open court and in the presence of foreign journalists the confessions that he had made to the secret police. The sensation this made at the time can well be imagined and, of course, this very episode gives the lie to all those apologists who said that the unanimity of the confessions made them beyond reproach. What happened as a result of Krestinsky's avowal that his confession had been extorted from him by the police? The judge, instead of ordering a full enquiry into all the facts, hurriedly adjourned the proceedings. And next day, after a night in the hands of his tormentors, Krestinsky came back into court and retracted his complaint about extortion.

This one instance threw the whole thing into the open and Krestinsky's heroism was plain for all to see—as well as its tragic futility. But although one does not

expect anything from the apologists of the time, what of Deutscher, who would presumably have saluted this gallantry on the part of his fellow-Trotskyist? He refers to Krestinsky's gesture as "feeble." This is written now, long after the revelations of the Krushev "secret" speech in which he made it clear that Stalin extracted his confessions by barbaric torture. And to add to the dreadful irony of it all, one reads in a recent issue of the *New Statesman* an article, by this same Deutscher, in which he mentions that Krushev has just "rehabilitated" Krestinsky as innocent of the crimes for which he was hanged and whose confession was the basis of the charges for which Bukharin and Rykov and so many others were hanged with him. Incidentally, this is, we believe, the first case of a prominent Trotskyist leader being exculpated. If the masters of Moscow get round to rehabilitating the arch-enemy Trotsky himself, then our tame communists will really have some words to eat.

L. E. WEIDBERG.

## FLIGHTS OF FANCY

TO THE KEEPERS OF THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE, by Walter Gore. Mitre Press, 14s.

This book consists of two short stories—"Novellas" the publisher calls them—which are "... addressed to all those who think that fundamental problems may be settled, once and for all, by the application of violence." The theme of the first story is not new. The world has become divided into two massive armed camps, each under the domination of a military clique although ostensibly governed democratically. Eventually they go to war and the result is the obliteration of the human race by nuclear weapons. Not quite, though, because somehow about six dozen people manage to survive on one or two islands miles from anywhere, and start the painful job of reconstructing their lives and the rebuilding of humanity.

Well, it is a distinct possibility. The destructive power of nuclear bombs is massive, but in putting the proposition, the author has ignored some rather important facts. First of all, the military do not exist as a separate entity, answerable to no one but themselves. The capitalist class of this and other major

powers have long ago brought the armed forces firmly under governmental control. Even the popular General MacArthur found this when he urged the use of atomic warfare against China during the Korean War and was promptly recalled by President Truman.

Then again, never has the fate of the world depended on the maniacal whims of a single man (Field Marshal Van Rogen, Chief of Staff of one of the armed camps in the story), and there is no evidence to suggest that it ever will be, never mind the contrary propaganda with which we have been assailed from time to time when it suited our masters. Admittedly a short story cannot cover every point, but Mr. Gore has left far too many gaps in his narrative for us to take it all that seriously. The prospect of any war, big or little, nuclear or conventional, is a horrifying one, but when we have said this we have not said anything very original. Modern war is capitalist society in conflict, not just a few high-ranking, trigger-happy brasshats in the Pentagon or Kremlin. If the author could even have hinted at that, his book would have been of more value.

His second story is a bit more off the ground than the first. A sort of modern Noah's Ark tale. A space expedition

reaches a far distant planet and finds a form of conscious plant life. That is to say, the beings have similar shaped bodies and move around just like humans, but are constructed of plant matter, not animal protein. It is an entirely non-violent society yet it plans to destroy the human race, which is regarded as a threat to its existence. So the space travellers hurry back to earth to warn us of the approaching disaster.

Quite honestly, we find it hard to take any part in this one seriously, despite vaguely expressed ideas earlier on about "international cooperation" and "world government." The write-up on the dust cover assures us of the author's "... numbing bitterness against the social forces around him, awakening to the discovery that if man is to cope with those forces he must first carefully study their nature." Fine. But what is their nature? Socialists have grasped the answer to that one, and we gladly offer Mr. Gore the benefit of what knowledge we have, for we realise the vital urgency of the task before us. First of all, however, let us keep our mental rockets firmly in orbit, and not lose control of them in far off flights of fancy.

E. T. C.



## The Labour Party illusion

In the coming general election the Socialist Party will be contesting two seats. We will be standing in opposition to all other parties, Conservative, Labour, Liberal, Communist, Nationalist, and the like. When we contest elections we put only one issue before the working class—Socialism or Capitalism. We only seek the support of those who wish to have Socialism now.

We hold that a Socialist party must base its policy on a recognition of the class struggle which goes on between the working class and the privileged owning class. It must not compromise with other political parties which, because there can only be one Socialist party in any one country, only stand for Capitalism in one form or another. This is why we are opposed to those parties, like the Labour Party and the Communist Party, which claim to stand for Socialism.

Although we don't regard these parties as Socialist and hold that they stand either for a reformed Capitalism (Labour) or State capitalism (Communist), we do recognise that they are in a way different from the Liberals and Conservatives. These openly proclaim that they stand for Capitalism. The Labour Party does not; it claims to be a party of the working class.

Under Capitalism there is inevitably working class discontent. The more politically conscious workers organise to seek a redress of their grievances. But as long as they are not Socialists, no matter how "radical" they may be, their programme will be one of capitalist reform. They will form the "left-wing" of capitalist politics. This was the origin of the Labour Party; it was the party of working class discontent, vaguely protesting against the effects of Capitalism but having no understanding of their causes. "Labourism" preached the need for a Labour government which would somehow be different from a Conservative or a Liberal government. Liberals and Conservatives could not be expected to sympathise with or understand the workers, it was argued, but a Labour government would be different. This belief was based on the assumption that Capitalism could be administered in the interests of the working class.

The experiences of the first two Labour governments should have shattered this delusion, but there was always the excuse that they were in office but not in power. There was no such excuse in 1945. Once installed, the new Labour government settled down to the task of running Capitalism. This inevitably brought them into conflict with the working class. Thus we found them using troops as blacklegs, prosecuting strikers and, in the end, trying to impose "wage restraint" and a "wage freeze" on the ground that wage increases would harm exports. Their foreign policy was based on protecting the overseas interests of the British capitalist class. To help them in this task they continued conscription and began production of the British nuclear bomb. As far as the working class were concerned there was little difference between this Labour government and previous Conservative ones. Their attempts to get higher wages were, as always, resisted. As before they were sent abroad to die defending the interests of the British capitalist class.

At the 1951 election the working class threw out the Labour government. The Labour Party had failed to produce Utopia. What changes they had made left the position of the working

class much as it had been before. Once again experience confirmed our analysis that a Labour government would be no more able to solve working class problems than would an avowedly capitalist government.

The fact that the Labour Party failed did not mean that its leaders were consciously dishonest. It just meant that their theories of how Capitalism worked were wrong.

The Labour Party believed, and still believes, that social problems can be solved piecemeal—first defence, then housing, then redundancy, and so on. This again is a delusion. The social problems of Capitalism—bad housing, boring work, lack of educational opportunities, increasing crime, increasing mental illness, shoddy goods—arise from the fact that the workers do not own the means of production. This means that these problems cannot be solved within the capitalist system. Attempts to alleviate them will fail, for no sooner is one aspect cleared up than another appears.

There are many examples of this. In housing the answer to exorbitant rents was thought to be found in Rent Control. This affected the problem temporarily, but it has led to another; as a result of Rent Control the landlords have neglected their property so that today a major aspect of the housing problem is how to renovate decaying houses. One of the measures the last Labour government introduced was dividend restraint. This led to a situation where companies had large reserves and low share values. As a result some time later, amid Labour protests, there was a spate of takeover bids. Then again, the Street Offences Act has merely led to the spread of the call girl racket. Trying to alleviate Capitalism's social ills is like doing Sisyphus' task. No sooner do you roll the stone to the top of the hill than it rolls back down again.

In recent years a change has come over the Labour Party. After losing three elections on the run the party decided that old-style Labourism was out of date. The image of the Labour Party as a backward-looking trade unionist party had to go. It was to be replaced by that of a modern, progressive, radical, national, dynamic, scientific, party. This change means that the Labour Party now accepts the capitalist system without qualification. It is the end of the road for "Labourism." At one time the Labour Party could be said to have had some principles even though they were hopelessly mistaken. Once it had a vision of a New Society. It had a strong pacifist and anti-militarist tradition. This is no longer so. Today the Labour Party is one of the two great electoral machines competing for power against the background of the capitalist system. It is Tweedledum to the Conservatives' Tweedledee.

Mr. Wilson and his colleagues can hardly wait to get into office. But this time their party will not be coming to power as an avowed workers' party but as a party determined to stand no nonsense in its attempts to modernise British capitalist industry. It is unlikely to look with tolerance on unofficial strikes and restrictive practices. It is likely to impose an "incomes policy"—in other words, wage restraint. The working class have nothing to gain from backing the Labour Party. But they can't say they haven't been warned what's in store for them.

A. L. B.

"FIFTY YEARS AFTER" The August Socialist Standard will contain special features on the 1914-1918 war

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## The Passing Show

### Holiday Reckoning 1.

The residents of Clacton had hardly gathered their wits after the Easter punch-ups, when Whitsun brought fresh outbreaks of teenage violence, but this time at Margate, Brighton and that paradise of retired army officers—Bournemouth. Margate was the worst afflicted, as hoards of "Mods" and "Rockers" descended on Dreamland and other parts and laid into each other without pity, egged on by their girl friends.

One aspect of these outbreaks which has alarmed the authorities is the contempt in which the warring youngsters held the police. "Here come the coppers; let's do 'em!" was heard at one point and seems to sum up the prevailing attitude. It's little wonder, then, that the coppers got just as tough and waded in with truncheons swinging. Neither is it surprising that heavy penalties were imposed by the courts on practically all those who were caught.

Just about as sickening was the spate of comments, excuses, call them what you will, in the press and elsewhere. Some people had blamed the poor weather and the lack of teenage amusement facilities at Clacton for the trouble there, but the same excuse could not be used for those which occurred at Whitsun. Nobody seemed to have any real grasp of why the violence had broken out and everybody was shocked and angered by it, forgetting that this was not the first trouble of its kind—neither is it likely to be the last.

When it came to suggesting ways of preventing it, we were treated to a rich variety of uselessness. The *Evening Standard* featured brief impromptu interviews with people in the street. One young woman thought that confiscating their scooters and motorbikes would "immobilise the little horrors and soon put a stop to them," as if there were no such things as buses and trains. (Anyway, what is to stop them from fighting at home if they want to?) Stiffer penalties, prison, birch and the inevitable "put 'em in the army for a spell"—all were trotted out, and all equally futile. The army, after all, exists to do just this sort of thing, only on a bigger and more highly organised scale. There is another difference, of course. The army has the sanction of the government-in-particular, and society in general. When it knocks other people about, it is done in "the interests of peace" or "to establish the rule of law" or "to protect the territorial integrity" of some puppet state or other.

Yobbos do not enjoy such privilege.

We hold no brief for the Whitsun wild ones, but at the risk of being told to turn the record over and play the other side, we say again that they are the ugly product of an equally ugly society. In the main, they are members of the working class—that much is obvious, despite some of the inane suggestions about their supposed riches. Their homes are usually in the drabber and meaner parts of the big towns, and their everyday lives are generally in character with their surroundings. Like most of us, they have to face a monotonous, unfulfilling and insecure existence of going to work for a wage packet.

This faces them with all the associate problems, boredom not least of all. Not just the boredom of "nowhere to go in the evening" but the greater boredom which is part and parcel of the uninspiring life of a wage slave and which does, in fact, colour his every waking minute. If we are honest with ourselves, we will all admit this.

The remarks of some of the "Mods' birds" to *Daily Mirror* reporter Paula James the day after the fights, are illuminating.

Listen—it gives you a kick, a thrill. It makes you feel all funny inside. You get butterflies in your stomach and you want the boys to go on and on . . . You've got to get your kicks somehow. You've got to make up for all that boring time you're going to spend at work next week.

This, then, sums up their attitude. This, they think, will solve their problems—and the "kicks" have got to be extra hard to give them any pleasure at all. No use telling them that their problems will still be with them long after they are too old for kicks any more. Reefers, Purple Hearts, violence and noise are the empty pleasures they seek. No use telling them either of the broken health which lies only a short way ahead for many of them. The Mods' birds have a reply to that, too:

We like life the way it is now. We want it to go on and on like this. . . . We want to live today. For here, for now, not next week.

They have yet to realise that they are really at the receiving end of the biggest kick of all, one that lands fairly and squarely on them, so long as they are members of the working class. All the bust-ups in the world won't alter that. That is the real lesson they have to learn and until then Capitalism has the laugh which really matters.

### Holiday Reckoning 2.

Whitsun was warm and sunny, the roads hot and smelly—and dangerous. It was estimated that about six million cars were on the move over the four days, mostly rushing to and from the holiday spots. A record number of cars—and road deaths. At least eighty-four people lost their lives. In France the number was one less. Sweden, with seventeen, had its highest total for years.

There were the usual warnings and appeals from motoring organisations and Ministry of Transport Parliamentary Secretary, Lord Chesham. Strange though it may sound, these might have had some effect. Apparently overall driving was better, but the relentlessly increasing volume of traffic has a counter-acting effect. As *The Guardian* pointed out: "The ultimate effect is that we are marching slowly backwards."

This trite little statement seemed to illustrate neatly the mockery behind the whole problem of road traffic. In this and other countries, a great deal of motorway building has been going on, but the fastest road building does not seem to keep pace with the mounting number of vehicles. It is typical that only capitalism could produce such machines as the motor car, inefficient and unwieldy when viewed from the viewpoint of human interests and then plunk it onto a road system completely unable to cope with it. In addition, only Capitalism would have us all on a ball and chain, and then release us all at once for "a much needed break," half of which is spent rushing "to get away from it all" only to find that we have not really escaped, because everyone else has had the same idea.

### Majorcan Holiday

Situated in the Mediterranean about five miles off the Spanish mainland, Majorca has become tremendously popular in recent years as a holiday centre. With its warm climate and beautiful rugged mountain scenery, it attracts tourists from many parts of the world. It is noted, amongst other things, for its cultivated pearls, its cathedral at Palma, and the Valldemosa monastery where Chopin stayed for just a few unhappy months.

Many workers manage a fortnight there by travelling tourist class on a "package holiday," some spending most of the daylight hours lying on the beach frying

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## FINANCE AND INDUSTRY

## INVESTMENT

## U.S. bogey

The recent Chrysler/Rootes deal, discussed elsewhere in these pages, has again revived the usual talk of American financial encroachment—not least among our Labour politicians. They raised a similar sort of fuss, it will be remembered, when American Ford increased its stake in U.K. Ford from 55 to 100 per cent. a few years ago.

Similar heartburnings were caused in France last year when Chrysler took over control of Simca, and the French government actually stepped in to put to stop to the deal when they heard that U.S. General Electric was after a stake in Machines Bull, the big electronics firm. But the significant thing to note about the last affair is that the French government eventually relaxed their opposition and allowed a modified arrangement to go through.

For the facts are simple enough. American capitalism is in search of outlets for its capital, and in many cases European firms have not sufficient resources of their own to finance their expansion. Yet expand they must if they are not to be left behind in the race for sales and profit. Rootes with Chrysler's resources behind them are a far different proposition than they were on their own—for years, in fact, the speculation has

been whether they could really survive for long against the bigger units of BMC, Vauxhall, and Ford. Similarly, Machines Bull plus General Electric is in a vastly stronger position to face up to IBM and Elliott than it was on its own. To see the facts as they really are, it is only necessary to observe that IBM's turnover is twenty times that of Machines Bull; that National Dairy Products, an American milk firm, has a bigger turnover than I.C.I.; that United States Steel produces more steel than the whole of West Germany; that the turnover of General Motors is greater than the whole of the "gross national product" of Holland, and its profits bigger than the national product of Eire.

One way or another, American capital will keep coming into Britain and Europe. Capitalism hates a vacuum. As usual, it is bigness that counts, and bigness that will win the day. And, just as important for European capitalism, if one country refuses it—it will go elsewhere. *Modernisation of the Moselle*

## STEEL

## The Moselle canal

The recent opening of the Moselle canal is a wonderful example of the hard economic facts behind politics.

Just as German capitalism always had envious eyes for the iron ore of French

Lorraine, so did French industrialists seize every opportunity to lay their hands on the iron and coal of the Saar. In 1920, the Versailles treaty gave France control of the Saarland for 15 years—as well as handing back Lorraine. In 1945, again, the Saar was incorporated in the French zone of occupation; later, in 1947 it was set up as an independent state though linked economically to France. In 1950, France granted it complete self-government—but in return for its coal output (15 million tons) for fifty years.

Came the Common Market. In 1956, French capitalism was forced to play yet another hand. In return for the handing back of the Saar to Germany, the latter was to participate in the canalisation of the Moselle. By this hard bargain—for both sides—barges of 1,500 tons are now able to travel 170 miles from Thionville to the Rhine, and French steel will be selling more cheaply in South Germany than even Ruhr or Saar steel. The greatest opposition to the canalisation of the Moselle came from the Ruhr steel-makers—it is easy to see why.

So determined was France to get the project through, and so reluctant the Germans, that even with the Saar thrown in the French government had to pay £48 million towards the project, compared with Germany's £22 million. But already they are planning to extend the canal southwards to Metz and Nancy. Eventually, the plan is to link the Rhine with the Rhone and form one great waterway between the Mediterranean and the North Sea. With huge barges plying along this thousand mile canal, transport costs will be cheapened for French industry in particular. Already German, Dutch and Belgian shippers are competing with their French counterparts for traffic, and the German and French railways threatening to cut their tariffs.

Under capitalism the big get bigger, and the small are forced more and more to the wall. At first sight, there seems little connection between Chrysler moving into Rootes and 5,000 ton barge convoys moving along the Moselle. But the connection's there alright. Just call it size—plus the prospect of profit.

S. H.

Will readers and sympathisers in the CHESTER, WREXHAM and NORTH WALES areas interested in forming discussion groups write to S. JONES, Lilac Cottage, Llanasa Road, Gronant, Flintshire; or Miss E. Gallagher, Plot 18, Sandy Cove, The Warren, Gronant Beach, Flintshire.

E. T. C.

## Rot about Rootes

Early in June the newspapers and the radio and TV announcers told us that we were all getting hot under the collar about the news that Chrysler, the car firm, was paying £12 million for part ownership of Rootes Motors. Those who were telling us how excited we were had two versions of the facts, one designed to raise our temperature to fever heat, the other to reassure us that all is well. The head of Rootes, along with government spokesmen, said that it is a commendable thing, bound to benefit us all, that Chrysler should be helping Rootes with cash and experience to sell more cars than before. The Labour Party leaders and leader-writers denied this and asked us to view the event as a very sinister thing from which we shall all suffer.

We were all supposed to know that the supreme significance of the deal lies in the fact that Chrysler's is an American firm and Rootes is British. Probably three quarters of the population didn't know and don't care, but with a general election not far away, any stunt that can scare a few thousand voters into changing their allegiance is important to the professional politicians.

So we are asked to believe that it is bad for British workers that an American firm should buy shares in a British company because the next step may be that Chrysler's will gain control of Rootes and be able to determine its policy and activities. Mr. Harold Wilson, leader of the Labour Party, led the attack, and, with minor degrees of emphasis, most of the newspapers committed themselves to the opinion that, whether or not control of Rootes is in danger of passing to America at the present time, it would certainly be a serious matter if that ever happened. The *Daily Worker*, on June 10, took a line quite indistinguishable from that of the Labour Party spokesman in an article with the title, "It may be good for Chrysler, General Motors and Fords, but ... It's no good for Britain."

If the whole uproar is regarded as no more than an attempt to exploit anti-American feeling in order to win over some voters from Tory to Labour, there is no need to delve for any deeper argument; but in fact those who made the running for the protest were only too anxious to justify themselves with what purported to be reasons in addition to jibes about foreign control.

Most of the attempts at argument were remarkable chiefly for their vagueness and obscurity, but here and there some writer or speaker committed himself to something definite. So, for example, the *Daily*

*Herald* on June 9. For the *Herald's* leader writer it was not an objection to American firms investing money in this country: on the contrary, the *Herald* agreed with the Government's claim that such investment deserves to be welcomed. But suppose, said the *Herald*, the investment is increased and eventually Chrysler's controls Rootes as Americans already control Fords and Vauxhalls. And suppose further that there is "a slump in international markets," what will the American owners do then? (It may be recalled here that the *Herald* seem to have overlooked its own belief that governments and economists now know all about preventing international slump, anyway).

Well, what will happen if the American motor firms with British subsidiaries find that they cannot sell all the output both from America and from Britain? The *Herald* thinks it knows that the answer is obvious.

If output and jobs were at stake, obviously preference would be given to American output and American jobs—not British.

So far from being obvious it is patently untrue and absurd. It asks us to believe that American employers are motivated by the wish to do good to American workers and that in order to have the motor firms in this country conducted in the interest of British workers we must have them run by British, not American employers.

How silly can newspapers get? If the Americans who own Chryslers are anxious to give jobs to America's four million unemployed, why are they putting their £12 million into a firm in Britain instead of in a firm in America?

And if the *Herald* believes that British investors invest here for the good of British workers, how would they square it with Mr. Harold Wilson's statement about Conservatives generally that "their interest is not in production. They are too busy drooling at the mouth at the prospect of increased share values which benefit the investors or speculators and bear no relation to national needs." (*Sunday Telegraph*, June 7, 1964).

The whole thing is nonsensical. The capitalist, British, American, or any other, invests in order to make profit. He does not care whether he sells motor cars (or anything else) at home or abroad. He is equally willing to sell whole factories for erection abroad—and up to this point the Labour Party protestors about the Rootes deal say it is a very good thing; but it suddenly in their eyes becomes a very bad thing if the motor car or other

article is made in Britain to the order of an employing company in America.

The Wilsons will tell us that "our" motor firm is passing under foreign control, as did Fords of Dagenham, but as far as the workers are concerned it is not "our" motor firm, whether control is located at Dagenham or Detroit: it just makes no difference. And Rootes does not belong to the British workers and they therefore cannot be deprived of the ownership they do not have.

The capitalist nature of the world is not changed, is not made better or worse, by changes of ownership of companies, or by changes from private capitalism to state capitalism (nationalisation). Those who claim that these are issues of "moment to the workers" are simply misleading them.

H.

## FORECASTING

Opposition at Socialist meetings often takes the form of asking for a detailed plan of Socialism, and on receiving the reply that none can be given, the opposer declares triumphantly that Socialism is impracticable.

Now, as a matter of fact, any forecast of the details of a future system of society will be vitiated by its being coloured by conceptions engendered by our present environment. As all our ideas are suggested by our material surroundings, past and present, we cannot mentally project ourselves into a form of society that has never yet been in existence.

Further, no detailed plan, is necessary for the attainment of Socialism. We know that Capitalism was brought about by the revolution that destroyed the old society, Feudalism. Were the pioneers of that revolution, the men who fought the battle of the rising bourgeoisie against the feudal nobility, prepared with a plan of capitalist society? Had they in mind such details as wheat corners, massacres, and Liberator swindles? No, it was sufficient for the purpose to wrest the political machinery out of the hands of the feudal nobility. The details of Capitalism have been settled by the capitalists themselves as they have arisen. Similarly, it is sufficient for the working class to capture the political machinery and to seize the means of production and distribution. The details of Socialist society will then be settled by the people as they arise. The broad basis of Socialism, viz., the common ownership of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, and their democratic control by the people, is sufficient for the present.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, July, 1914.



## BRANCH NEWS

Lewisham Branch is continuing its propaganda activity in **Bromley** and the Branch has especially asked that as many comrades as possible would be welcome to support their Thursday evening meetings at the MARKET PLACE, BROMLEY (outside Dunn's). These meetings commence at 7.30 p.m.

**Glasgow** Branch held a Seven Days for Socialism (June 6th-June 14th). Comrade Gilmac went up for the week to assist the Branch and we will have a review of the events in next month's issue.

**Three weeks in America.** Comrade McClatchie (Gilmac) reports: "I recently spent three weeks in America, most of the time in Boston, but I spent three days in New York. In Boston some members occupy Monday nights at their Head Office doing the routine work—dealing with correspondence, sending out literature, attending to subscriptions, etc. On Friday evenings there is an economic class and on Sundays they hold their fortnightly Executive Committee meetings. In between times Rab, Morrison and Fentin (the latter is also General Secretary) are engaged in writing and going through articles for the "W.S." As far as I remember, the meetings on Boston Common had not recommenced. They have had very bad weather.

I attended an N.A.C. meeting and the Economics Class the first week I was there. At the second meeting of the Economics Class I spoke on the Materialist Conception of History. There was no time for advertising this meeting but about 80 letters were

sent out to possible attenders. As a result about 30 turned up, and there were a number of questions.

I noticed one welcome change from my previous visit. A number of young people are interested and some have joined the Party.

Whilst in Boston I stayed, very pleasantly, at the Rabs. One evening they had a party which enabled me to meet some of the young people who have joined, and some who are interested. I also spent some pleasant evenings in the homes of Comrades Morrison, Ellenbogen, Blake and Gloss. One lovely evening Com. Gloss took me to dinner at a restaurant by the sea. Although his bookshop was burnt down he is carrying on quite well. I stayed with Comrade Orner and met the New York comrades. One of these (Charley David) was mentioned in a paper on account of his weekly discussions in a Square there. Another (Jack Kilgore) I was told, drives over one hundred miles to attend their Branch meetings in New York! In New York I had some lengthy discussions with Comrades Davis and Coombs. Another Comrade was there part of the time. Sam Orner is as full of beans as ever and proposes attending our next Conference. Charley Davis expressed the same intention. Comrade Fentin of Boston also proposes making a visit and Rab has it in mind.

In conclusion, I must record my appreciation for the comradely welcome I received everywhere. In particular, the warm and friendly atmosphere in the two places where I stayed; the Rab's home in Boston and the Orner's home in New Jersey. They could not do too much for me and for my comfort. I must add that Comrade Rab took me for a delightful three day trip through the New England States, which, to me, had an advantage historically as well as the appreciation of beautiful scenery and houses, villages and towns containing shadows of time gone by."

**West London** Branch have planned a visit to **Brighton** on Sunday, July 5th. This visit has been arranged in conjunction with the Brighton Group. All are welcome—meeting place—West Pier, Brighton, noon, Sunday, July 5th.

**Wood Green & Hornsey** Branch will meet in future at 17, Dorset Road, N.22, on Fridays at 8.30. All enquiries and correspondence to E. L. McKone at that address. P.H.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

THE CORRUPTED GIANT, by Margaret Halsey, Macdonald & Co., 15s.  
NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM, by Hugh Seton-Watson, Methuen, 36s.  
TO THE KEEPERS OF THE SLAUGHTERHOUSE, by Walter Gore, Mitre Press, 14s.  
GONE TO BABYLON, by Walter Gore, Mitre Press, 10s. 6d.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. E. Taylor & Son, Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London E.C.1

### STEVENAGE

Outdoor Meeting  
Saturday, 18th July, 3 pm  
New Town Square

### PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
(near Marylebone Rd. and Tube)  
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

July 22nd

**SOCIAL SECURITY**  
Speaker: C. Devereaux

July 29th

**MYTHS & THEIR SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS**

Speaker: R. Ambridge

### BROMLEY LIBRARY

High Street (near Bromley South SR Station)

Friday, 17th July, 8 pm

**PERSONALITIES, POLITICS AND SOCIALISM**

Speaker: E. Grant

### WEMBLEY

Barham Old Court, Barham Park  
(opposite The Fusillier)  
Mondays, 8 pm

6th July

**CRIME & CAPITALISM**  
Speaker: H. Baldwin

20th July

**MYTHS & THEIR SOCIAL IMPLICATIONS**

Speaker: R. Ambridge

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm and 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth  
5th July, 11 am  
12th July, 1 pm  
19th July, noon  
26th July, 11 am  
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 pm

#### Mondays

Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

#### Wednesdays

Outside Charing Cross Tube Station  
Villiers Street, 8 pm

#### Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm  
Market Place, Bromley, 7.30 pm  
Earls Court, 8 pm  
Hyde Park, 8 pm

#### Fridays

Earls Court, 10th and 24th July, 8 pm

#### Saturdays

Hyde Park, 7.30 pm

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Official Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland

# Socialist Standard

in this number

**The legacy of 1914-18**

**At the conscientious objectors tribunal**

**Economic causes of the Great War**



**“Let’s put the kibosh on...”**

AUGUST 1964 | 6d No 720, Vol 60.



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** No meetings Aug. Thursdays 8 pm 3rd and 17th Sept. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm 7th Aug. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. BEX 1950) and 21st Aug. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esther, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursday 13th August 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

## 60 YEARS FOR SOCIALISM

On June 12th 1904 the SPGB was founded and in September 1904 the first number of the Socialist Standard appeared. To mark the 60th anniversary of these historic events the September Socialist Standard will be enlarged and carry special features for the occasion.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (12th Aug.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Mondays 10th and 24th Aug. Room 3 Community Centre, Leigh-on-Sea 8 pm. Correspondence: A. Partner, 28 Hambro Hill, Raleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (3rd and 17th Aug.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat). Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (13th and 27th Aug) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools, Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: S. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 17 Dorset Road, N.22. Correspondence to: E. L. McKone at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (14th and 28th Aug) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meetings from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly. Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

August 1964 Vol 60 No 720

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain and the World  
Socialist Party of Ireland



### SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting August 30th.

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## The verdict of history

Millions of words will be published this month about the world's first Great War. Few of them will be complimentary.

Over the last fifty years the war has come under a detailed scrutiny. The official propaganda has been exposed as a mass of blatant lies. The leaders, worshipped at the time, have been shown up as incompetents. The motive behind the war has been pronounced as a naked economic struggle. The popular verdict seems to be that the war was a ghastly mistake, which would never have come about if the world had been run by cleverer, more humane leaders.

In the manner of historical fashion, this verdict may one day be modified, and men like the late Earl Haig become restored to favour. The millions of killed and wounded may be ennobled into heroes whose lives were not wasted, but who suffered for a worthy cause. Historians may decide for us that we should be grateful the war was fought.

But whatever historians may decide, whatever historical fashion may decree, facts are facts. And the facts of the First World War have not changed.

In the first place, it is true that the war was a stupid and futile business. War always is. But it was not a mistake.

Whatever incidental errors may contribute to its horror, war in the modern world does not happen by accident. If it did, then the massive armed forces which all countries always maintain are mistakes. Weapons—nuclear and otherwise—are mistakes.

In fact, all these things are quite logical, once we have accepted the basic condition of the existence of the capitalist social system. We live today in a world in which a minority own the means of producing and distributing wealth. This minority—the capitalist class—are always in competition among themselves for economic advantage.

They compete for markets and for fields of important raw materials and minerals. They anxiously guard the trade routes which connect them with their markets and material resources abroad. They are always trying, with their economic conferences, their tariff walls, their international trading clubs, to protect what spheres of influence they have and to expand into others.

Here is the root of war. The minor conflicts which have flared up since 1945 in, say, the Middle and Far East were not caused by a chain of mistakes, or by opposing designs on the ownership of an arid desert or of an impassable jungle. Neither were they caused by a concern in the world's more sophisticated capitals for the welfare of a few impoverished Arabs or Asian natives.

Those wars were fought for material advantages—for oil, for tin, for rubber, for uranium, for access to key strategic points like the Suez Canal.

It was no different in 1914. At the beginning of this century Germany was struggling to establish itself among the other capitalist powers, who had got in





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Journal for Socialism  
in the  
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6d monthly

1914-18



Public Meeting

## WAR and the Socialist position

Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1

Wednesday 12th August, 8 pm

Speakers: C. May, R. Critchfield

first in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The German ruling class wanted an outlet to the markets in the Far East, they wanted to stake their claim in the Mediterranean. At the same time, France wanted to regain the valuable provinces which she had lost in the war of 1870, and Great Britain had her eye on the German colonies in Africa.

This was the power behind the headlong arms race of the early 20th century. This race provoked the political tensions in Europe, which needed only a fortuitous assassination to release them into the catastrophe of a war the like of which the world had not thought to experience.

That war shattered Europe's morale. It left the world set in the pattern from which came the battlefronts of the Second World War, which in its turn has bequeathed areas of conflict which have come close to provoking World War Three.

This is a continuous process, inevitable under capitalism. There is nothing accidental about it; it is not the result of a miscalculation.

It is easy for the historians to show up the errors of command of 1914/18, just as it may be easy some time in the future to do the same thing about 1939/45. War can only bring untold misery to the people who suffer most under it—yet it solves no problems of theirs. It is, in fact, as foolish and as wasteful as the social system which causes it.

The solution to this is to put an end to the social madness of private property and to replace it with a new system in which the world's entire population own the things which are used to make and distribute its wealth.

This system is called Socialism. It was the solution faithfully propounded by the Socialist Party of Great Britain against the mob patriotism and official repression of 1914/18. Capitalism never climbs out of its own pit of turpitude, but in those years it was indeed impressive for its depravity.

If we are to look for some relief among this depressing memory, it can be found in the records of the Socialist Party—in the history of our members' gritty defiance, in the old copies of the **SOCIALIST STANDARD**.

The word pride does not come easily to a Socialist's tongue. So we are weighing every word when we say that we are proud to recall that our party stood out, in the bloodthirsty confusion which pulled down the human race fifty years ago, for a world fit for human beings.

When everyone else was dabbling in the slime, we kept our hands clean. While the "practical" men, the "respectable" men, the "courageous" men, were slaughtering each other, we persistently propagated the case for a world of decency, abundance and liberty.

We are proud to be identified with this history, and to carry on so worthy a tradition.

1939-45

## Economic causes of the Great War

World War. In August, 1914, the Executive Committee of HALF a century has passed since the beginning of the First the Socialist Party of Great Britain issued a manifesto—"The War, and the Socialist Position."

It was discussed and agreed before being issued but the discussion was not at all about the question whether the war should be supported or opposed but about the details of the wording. The Party's attitude to war between capitalist governments did not need to be discussed; it had been decided years before at the formation of the Party. It was implicit in the Declaration of Principles which was adopted when the Party was formed and has remained unchanged, in particular in Clause 6, which reads:

... the machinery of government including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers. . .

The Manifesto therefore took the form of re-affirming Socialist principles including the principle on which rests the Socialist attitude to war.

It opened with the declaration:

Whereas the capitalists of Europe have quarrelled over the questions of the control of trade routes and the world's markets, and are endeavouring to exploit the political ignorance and blind passions of the working class of their respective countries in order to induce the said workers to take up arms in what is solely their masters' quarrel.

Later on it declared that:—

as the workers' interests are not bound up in the struggle for markets wherein their masters may dispose of the wealth they have stolen from them (the workers), but in the struggle to end the system under which they are robbed, they are not concerned with the present European struggle . . .

In this Manifesto the Socialist Party of Great Britain was restating three principles which are fundamental to the Socialist case—that war is not an accidental interruption of the peaceful operations of capitalism but is inherent in the structure of the system itself; that the interest of the workers in all parts of the world is to stand together against the governments of capitalism; and that the only way to end war is to end capitalism.

In the world of 1914 the great majority of the organisations which called themselves Socialist did not accept these three principles. They did not accept that it is capitalism itself which necessarily produces the conflicts over markets, trade routes, raw material sources, etc., which engender war. Along with the naive belief that war could be "humanised" by the banning of particularly destructive weapons they thought that war could be eliminated through international agencies appealing in the name of law, humanity or religion. Adding to the confusion there was one school of thought which relied on proving to the capitalists that "war does not pay," and another—we have it still—which envisaged an international agency having armed forces to preserve peace by waging war on war-making governments.

In August, 1914, when the Socialist Party of Great Britain was issuing its Manifesto most of the so-called Socialist parties were declaring their support for their respective governments.

Because they did not accept that capitalism was the cause of the war they readily succumbed to the excuses for the war offered to them by their respective governments. In Britain it was the defence of Belgium and France against the megalomania of the German Kaiser and German Militarism, and

later, "the war to end war"; or the war for democracy. In Germany it was defence against Russian autocracy and Russian "barbarism." Although all of these parties, in the second International to which they belonged, had long seen the threat coming and had even formally declared their opposition to it at the Basle conference in 1912, most of them put loyalty to "their country" first, when the war actually came. Their lip-service to internationalism had never possessed the solid Socialist basis of recognising the mutual interest of all workers against capitalism and its governments everywhere.

Those who reject the Socialist contention that the root of modern war is in capitalism have to seek other explanations. These fall into several groups—the innate aggressiveness of human nature; the acts of wicked men or their rulers; economic causes other than capitalist ones; the strength of nationalist or religious feeling; and the conflicts of ideologies.

The human nature explanation of modern war is an irrelevance. It is true that individuals along with the capacity to live peaceably side by side and to show humanity and compassion, will in appropriate circumstances engage in quarrels and violence. (The "appropriate circumstances" often being features of the competitive struggle inside capitalism). But when it comes to preparation for war it is always the governments which have to set out deliberately by lying propaganda to stir up hatred of whoever happens at the time to be "the enemy," and so little do the aggressive instincts of the mass of the population cause them to rush into war that almost all of the governments in the 1914 war (and subsequent wars) had to use conscription to drag the unwilling heroes into the battle line.

The argument that wars arise from economic but not capitalist causes, rests on the fact that long before capitalism came into being, or in places where capitalism did not exist, food shortage caused migrations and consequent wars, or caused wars among tribes in adjacent areas. But this situation has little bearing on the wars between capitalist powers in the modern world. It gives no explanation for the 1914 or 1939 wars, any more than it does for the long years of cold war between the American and Russian groups. The Powers involved in the 1914 war were not faced with inability to produce enough. All of them had for years been increasing their output of all kinds of commodities. Their worry was not over production but over the sale of what they produced.

The belief that modern wars are caused by nationalist or religious differences merely obscures the facts. What happens is that when capitalist rivalries have produced clashes in which governments consider going to war, the governments then calculatedly exploit nationalist and religious prejudices in order to popularise the war and cover up the real causes. Nations and the national religions are themselves products of capitalism as Louis Boudin showed in his *Socialism and War* (lectures given early in the 1914 war), it was the rise of capitalism in place of the feudalism of the middle ages which necessitated the division of Europe into separate national states. "Capitalism needed larger economic units for its development. The small groups therefore began to coalesce and amalgamate into larger units which would permit the larger economic life which is the characteristic of the new era":—

Thus arose the modern European nations, each with its own language and separate and distinct social, political and economic



life: England, France, Spain, the Scandinavian countries, Russia, Italy and Germany.

This development also needed and brought about the separation of the national religious organisations through the Reformation.

The other so-called ideological causes of war fare just as badly when lined up with the facts. British propaganda in 1914 made much of German "militarism"—this was argued also by leaders of the Labour Party—but halfway through the war conscription, the major feature of "militarism" was introduced in this country and, of course, Britain's European allies all had conscript armies. Another ideological charge against Germany was her brutal treatment of populations in her African colonies; but Britain's ally Belgium had an even worse record in Africa, and the British capitalist record in their colonies was equally open to charges.

There remains the argument that wars are caused by the acts of individuals, including individual rulers. It is still possible, fifty years after, for an article in the *Sunday Telegraph* (28/6/64) to start off:—"Two bullets that killed the Austrian Heir at Sarajevo on June 28, 1914, started the holocaust of World War I." And books are still being published about the degree of personal responsibility of the German Kaiser Wilhelm II for the first World War.

Professor Pigou writing soon after the first World War, in his *Political Economy of War*, dismissed the Sarajevo incident as being the occasion not the cause of the war. It may have been "the match to the powder magazine. The real fundamental causes are there that lie behind the assembling of the powder."

The *Times Literary Supplement* (26/3/64) reviewing two books on the supposed personal responsibility of the Kaiser, pointed out that in effect Germany long before Sarajevo had been in what would now be called a "cold war," the stage of preparations for the eventual fighting war of 1914.

An article in the *SOCIALIST STANDARD* in September, 1914, on the same theme, showed that for years before 1914 the British and French governments had been building up their forces and arranging for the disposition of their navies to meet the counter preparations of the German government.

The origins of that war lay in the fact that the nineteenth century industrial military and naval predominance of British and French capitalism was being challenged by the rapid expansion of Germany. As German industry grew, German production and exports were catching up and the German

navy had grown to a size and striking power comparable with the British.

After the German annexation of the French provinces of Alsace and Lorraine in 1871, the way was opened for the link-up of Lorraine ore with Westphalian coal, and Germany's pig-iron production soon jumped ahead. In 1870-74 it was 1,800,000 tons a year against Britain's 6,400,000, but by 1908 German production was far ahead. The same was true of steel and the German mercantile shipping fleet was being rapidly expanded.

A warning had been given by the Commission on the Depression of Trade in its Report as early as 1886 about German competition in world markets:—

A reference to the reports from abroad will show that in every quarter of the world the perseverance and enterprise of the Germans are making themselves felt. In actual production of commodities we have now few, if any, advantages over them, and in a knowledge of the markets of the world, a desire to accommodate themselves to local tastes or idiosyncrasies, a determination to obtain a footing wherever they can and a tenacity in maintaining it, they appear to be gaining ground upon us.

An area of acute conflict was in the field of colonies. Britain and France, along with Belgium, had been first in this field. Britain in India and Asia and all of them in Africa. Germany, the late comer, seeking to enter and expand in Africa, more and more threatened the future of those who were there first and had taken most of the more profitable areas. When Germany showed in 1911, by sending a gunboat to Agadir, that she intended to get a foothold in Morocco, Mr. Lloyd George, Chancellor of the Exchequer, at once reacted with a speech threatening war. This incident had the effect of bringing French and British capitalism nearer together in mutual self-protection.

One of the more dramatic forms of the conflict was the German plan for a Berlin to Bagdad railway, a counter-blast to the British scheme of the Cape to Cairo line. The German plan involved pushing Russian influence out of the Balkans, cutting Russia off from the Mediterranean by control of the Dardanelles, and opening up a way for Germany to expand towards the Persian Gulf and India.

The 1914 war did not start overnight through an assassin's bullets; it was the outcome of years of conflicting capitalist interests.

H.

## WHAT THEY SAID

### Some Labour Leaders and the War

In an article by Mr. Keir Hardie in yesterday's *Pioneer* (Merthyr) he says: "I have never said or written anything to dissuade our young men from enlisting. I know too well all there is at stake." (*Manchester Guardian*, November 28th, 1914.)

I returned about 1.30 and received the Rt. Hon. J. H. Thomas at lunch, a Labour M.P., and head of the Railwaymen's Union. I found him a broad-minded patriot. Most anxious to help and fully alive to what the gentry of England have done in the war. He is a great admirer of Asquith. . . (The diary of Sir Douglas Haig, Commander of the

British forces in France, October 31st, 1917.)

### Ruthlessness

Nothing for which the masses of our people have ever striven is more important than that they and all of us should win in this tremendous war against the ruthless military caste . . . that menaces the rights and freedom of mankind. (H. M. Hyndman, writing in the *Daily Dispatch*, July 7th, 1915.)

Sir Douglas Haig's diary for the same day shows that ruthlessness was not confined to one side. . .

At 11 o'clock Lt. Col. Fowkes, R.E., called on me from G.H.Q. regarding the use of asphyxiating gas. I said better wait until we can use it on a large scale, because the element of surprise is always greater on the first occasion.

### The First Casualty

It is difficult to imagine what could be more despicable than the attitude of the capitalist Press during the past year. The persistent and ever more complete suppression of truth, the distortion of facts, the hypocrisy, the false and maudlin sentiment, and stupid advice to the workers, the

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## Fifty years too late

IT has taken the world a long time to get back its breath after the shock of the First World War. Now it is time for a re-assessment. Not surprisingly, this is proving to be a painful business.

The war is under severe criticism; the defenders of that episode in human history are finding it difficult to hold their lines and in many cases are in full retreat. Books, articles, photographs—even a West End musical—have been devoted to a merciless exposure of the war. The generals are now regarded as cold blooded fools, the politicians as impotent puppets. Only the Poor Bloody Infantryman comes out of it well, slogging up to the Front, grovelling in the slime, resignedly going over the top whenever he was ordered to.

A new generation of exceedingly articulate historians have analysed the war. Alan Clark has written bitterly on the "experiments" of 1915, Brian Gardner has exposed the 1916 Battle of the Somme, Leon Wolff that of Passchendaele in 1917. Alan Moorehead has told the story of the massive blunder of Gallipoli. And so on. These writings have taken full profit of the historian's natural advantage of hindsight—the advantage which men like Siegfried Sassoon and Robert Graves, who had actual experience of the war, did not have. Although they eventually came to doubt the motives of the war, Sassoon and Graves were at first aware only of the confusion of it all. They could not know of the more horrible mistakes, of the conceited indifference of the generals. Theirs were snap judgments, put down in white heat.

It is different now. Almost everyone seems to agree that the war was a mistake—just like an accountant adding up his books wrong or a mechanic leaving a nut loose. Good—but only as far as it goes. It was, after all, a "mistake" which cost ten million lives. At the time, the war was generally accepted as a good idea. And it is a "mistake" which the world can make again, at any time, because the elements for it are still there.

The condemnation of the Great War fits in with the ever-popular theory about the Bad Old Days. But this does not alter the fact that the case against the war, on all scores, is overwhelming. It is pitifully easy to show up the leaders for what they were; Robert Blake, in his edition of the private papers of Sir Douglas Haig, avoids criticising the British commander but in truth Haig's own words are enough. Many of the generals were hopelessly wrong in their estimations of military prospects—which was, after all, their job. Haig, at the beginning of the war, considered the machine gun a much overrated weapon and thought that it would be impossible to use gas.

Sir John French, who was at the time the commander of the British troops, sited his headquarters for the disastrous battle of Loos at a place which had no telephone communication with Haig, whose First Army was to fight the battle. The French General Nivelle sent his men to attack on the Aisne in 1917 although he knew that his plans had fallen into German hands. The French soldiers were massacred; 180,000 of them were lost. Yet General Sir Henry Wilson, who was supposed to be the contact man between the British and the French forces, wrote to Haig, "I don't think, luckily, that the French losses are very heavy."

Wilson was only one of the generals who did not seem to know what was happening to the men under their command. However badly his armies were mauled, Haig never lost his confidence. The day before twenty thousand British soldiers were killed on the Somme he wrote: "The weather report is

favourable for tomorrow. With God's help, I feel hopeful." The battle of Arras, in April, 1917, cost 160,000 casualties for an advance of seven thousand yards. Haig's estimate of the losses was sixteen thousand—one-tenth of the actual total—and, of course, he had planned for a much greater advance. In March, 1918, just before the German armies smashed through his lines, he told his Army commanders that he was " . . . only afraid that the enemy would find our front so very strong that he will hesitate to commit his army to the attack with the almost certainty of losing very heavily."

Haig's Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General Sir Launcelot Kiggell, did not visit the Passchendaele battlefield until the fighting was all over. When he did go there he was appalled by the impossible conditions in which the soldiers had fought. He broke down and wept: "Good God, did we really send men to fight in that?"

Perhaps the leaders suffered from a lack of imagination. Most of the generals were firm Westerners; they believed that the only proper place for the war to be fought was in France and Flanders, and they scorned any suggestions of bypassing movements like Gallipoli. Most of these officers started the war as ardent cavalymen, dreaming of sleek horses prancing across the battlefields under vivid lance pennants. The mud strangled those romantic visions, as surely as it popularised the opposite theory of attrition.

In its baldest terms, this theory was that a general committed his troops to a battle which had virtually no chance of significant success—no chance of bursting through the opposing trenches into the open country beyond. The most that such attacks could achieve was a slogging, bloody advance of a few miles. At the end of the battle the general got his Staff to add up his casualties and those of the other side. If his were less than theirs (and Haig's Staff usually took good care that that was how the figures came out) he had won. Simple. Even for the millions who were attrited.

The result of this theory was that the soldiers were continually being asked to do the impossible and were being blamed as cowards and slackers when they failed to overcome the combined obstacles of trench ailments, shellfire, bottomless mud, barbed wire and machine guns. On July 1st, 1916, the opening day of the Battle of the Somme, one of the Corps under Haig's command the Eighth lost thirteen thousand men. Haig's comment on this day's work was that he was " . . . inclined to believe . . . that few of the 8th Corps left their trenches."

It is fashionable now for the critics to point a horrified finger at the attrition policy. There is no doubt that the commanders did not seem able to think up any other way of getting their men killed yet the policy had succeeded convincingly in the American Civil War. Were the generals really to blame for apparently applying what was then up to date military theory?

Attrition is, in fact, one of war's logical conclusions. The theory sounds too callous to be true—but has anyone ever heard of a humane war? Did ever a general plan a battle in which nobody was going to get killed? It was not the commanders, but those people who supported the war and the social conditions which nurture war, yet who objected to the long casualty lists, who were illogical. And in those people we can include most of the young historians who are now so bitterly critical of the war's conduct.

What, after all, did the world expect? About a year before he was killed, Wilfred Owen composed a moving sonnet which



opened with the words: "What passing-bells for these who die as cattle?" By the time he wrote that Owen, and many others, were in despair at the endless slaughter. Yet when the war broke out the working class, hysterically patriotic, were not expecting to die like cattle; they looked forward only to swift, glorious victory and a hero's return.

This was true of both sides. The cheering crowds in London were matched by those in Berlin. This was how Walter Limmer, a law student from Leipzig, who died of wounds in September, 1914, described his regiment's departure for the Front:

Our march to the station was a gripping and uplifting experience! . . . Such enthusiasm!—the whole battalion with helmets and tunics decked with flowers—handkerchiefs waving untiringly—cheers on every side. . .

It is a bitter fact that the workers eagerly took in the propaganda which was fed to them. The British government were surprised by the response to their appeal for volunteers, which kept up until the losses in the battles of attrition brought conscription on to the scene.

Not all the "volunteers" joined up entirely of their own free will; many of them were subject to varying types and degrees of force. There was the moral force of the girls with the white feathers. There was the sort of persuasion which Siegfried Sassoon mentions in his poem *Memorial Tablet*: "Squire nagged and bullied till I went to fight (Under Lord Derby's Scheme)." And there was the direct economic pressure from the firms who suddenly declared that they would no longer take on any fit men of military age. (The London County Council, when their tramway men went on strike in 1915, said that they would not take back any strikers who were eligible for military service.)

But even taking all this into account, there can be no question about the workers' support of the war and of their eagerness to get into uniform. Whatever they saw and experienced at the Front, they kept coming back for more. They never gave up. The French, it is true, were mutinous for a time after Nivelle's catastrophic offensive in 1917. But they were soon settled and the war ground on. The Germans, of course, suffered terribly but there was still enough fight left in them in 1918 for their great attack in March of that year. All that happened was that the mud got deeper and bloodier and more repulsive as the corpses rotted down into it. Visions of glory gave way to blank despair; most people thought the war would never end.

#### ON PASSING THE NEW MENIN GATE

Who will remember, passing through this Gate,  
The unheroic Dead who fed the guns?  
Who shall absolve the foulness of their fate,  
These doomed, conscripted, unvictorious ones?  
Crudely renewed, the Salient holds its own.  
Paid are its dim defenders by this pomp;  
Paid, with a pile of peace-complacent stone,  
The armies who endured that sullen swamp.

Here was the world's worst wound. And here with pride  
"Their name liveth for ever," the Gateway claims.  
Was ever an immolation so belied  
As these intolerably nameless names?  
Well might the Dead who struggled in the slime  
Rise and deride this sepulchre of crime.

We thank SIEGFRIED SASSOON for letting us publish his poem.

Yet even that did not shake the basic support for the war. It is all very well for confident journalists now to expose the terrible blunders that were made. At the time such exposure would have been generally regarded as acts of gross, unpatriotic indecency. So the journalists held their tongues. In his life of Lloyd George *Tempestuous Journey* Frank Owen tells of the Prime Minister crying:

If people really knew, the war would be stopped tomorrow, but of course they don't—and can't know. The correspondents don't write and the censorship wouldn't pass the truth. The thing is horrible, and beyond human nature to bear, and I feel I can't go on any longer with the bloody business.

Those words sound very heartfelt and sincere but they need not be taken too seriously. It was, after all, Lloyd George's government who did their best to suppress anyone who tried to tell the truth about the war, even if in this they played up to the mob ignorance of hooligan patriots.

Those were dark days for the world, with only a gallant few holding out. In September, 1914, the Socialist Party of Great Britain immediately made its opposition to the war plain: "... no interests are at stake justifying the shedding of a single drop of working class blood..." From that moment we kept up a barrage of opposition. Our speakers were physically attacked and we were forced to discontinue our meetings. Said the SOCIALIST STANDARD of December, 1914:

Owing to various circumstances, including the peculiarly British sense of fair play of our opponents, the Party's Lecture list is considerably curtailed this month.

The next issue advertised no meetings at all, only a defiant attack on

... the rampant jingo hooligans of the streets, and ... the "patriotic" fury of certain parasites "dressed in a little brief authority".

Our headquarters were raided by the police and almost every issue of the SOCIALIST STANDARD carried matter which, under the Wartime Regulations, was illegal. Our "crime" was that we were saying then what most people, in part, are thinking now. Here, for example, is an extract from the issue of May, 1915—before the big battles had given second thoughts to some of those who had once been so enthusiastic about the godlike omnipotence of their leaders:

The men in the trenches are being butchered. It is necessary to hide from them certain contributing factors. It is necessary to hide from them the fact that military experts, whose business it was to understand war, failed utterly to grasp the power, scope and requirements of the awful instruments of slaughter placed in their hands.

The members of the Socialist Party of Great Britain were not thanked, during those terrible years, for their stand. But they did not want to be; for them, the facts were enough. Time has shown how correct they were. The Europe which was spawned by the 1919 Conference was ready to father the Second World War. Until recently the conduct of the last war was thought to be above the sort of criticisms which have been levelled at 1914/18. But now, as time allows a better perspective and as the facts come out, opinions are changing. The raid on Dresden has become notorious as an example of shameless mass murder, as are the two atomised Japanese cities. The Dieppe landing has been exposed as a pointless flourish, partly undertaken to occupy troops who were bored with camp life in England. Perhaps the long bomber offensive will one day be seen as the Passchendaele of 1939/45 a

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## At the conscientious objectors tribunal

### A DIVINE COMEDY OF THE WATFORD TRIBUNAL

#### Dramatis Personae

LORD CLARENDON	Chairman.
MISTER HUDSON	Clerk to the Council.
MISTER LONGLEY	Draper.
MISTER CLARKE	House Builder.
MISTER SOLOMONS	Photographer.
MISTER GORLE	Solicitor, Conscriptorist, Labour Leader and ac- quainted with the King of the Belgians.

Crowd of N.C.F. men, Comrades, Constables and Attendants.

THE Bushey and Watford comrades did in the month of March appear before the local Tribunal with the now familiar result.

The chairman was the Lord and the Military Representative, symbolically enough, was on the left hand of the Lord. A Draper sat next to a House Builder and a solicitor next to a Professional Photographer.

To the right of the Lord's chosen people were portraits of two old-time councillors done by a Bushey painter, who when he has no commissions from local legislators, will condescend to paint angels for church windows. These pictures were as interesting to artists as pathology is to humanitarians. No cantankerous sentiment could be detected on their placid faces, for when the local man took up his brushes there was no European War and all the Conscientious Objectors had been robbed of their telescopes and books and burned and decapi-

continued from previous page

drawn out campaign of attrition, in which hundreds of thousands were killed on both sides, with little real effect on the course of the war. The late Lord Alanbrooke has put on record the doubts about Churchill's infallibility. And there are now the same hungry questions over the war's conclusions—over the division of Germany and of Berlin, for example—as there were about the conditions imposed in 1919 at Versailles.

Perhaps in 1989 there will be smug journalists to point out the mistakes of the Second World War. But can be afford always to wait fifty years to agree that war is an obscene waste of human lives and resources? Capitalism, with its inevitable competition of economic interests, causes modern war. From that flows all the rest—the ghastly weapons, the shattered lives, the terror, the confusion, the mistakes. To bemoan the natural results of war without attacking the cause of it is to start at the wrong end of the problem.

The Great War happened a long time ago and it is safe, now, for the truth to filter out. The blinds can be lifted, now that there are only a few people to remember it all—a few old men who still wheeze from the gas, a few white haired women with an aching grief for someone who went out and was left in the mud. Nothing now can bring back the dead, nor put together the splintered limbs, nor erase the intolerable anguish of those four years. The strenuous apologists of capitalism are congratulating themselves on having just woken up to the fact that the First World War was a stupid, pointless bloodbath.

But they are too late.

Fifty years, and ten million lives, and an untold burden of human suffering, too late.

IVAN.

tated many centuries ago.

But I must not digress now for I am come to the point when the Lord spoke. I had arrogantly suggested in my appeal paper that what was valuable and precious in Art and Science and Literature had emanated from intellectual research and that militarism either supported or created all those things hostile to a free and secure existence. Before I came to these chosen of the Masters I had suggested that intellectual progress and military pursuits are antagonistic. Then when the Lord asked me if I was a Quaker I saw that my policy and sentiments still remained misunderstood, so I rose to explain that I had accepted the communistic principles of Karl Marx, and consequently believed that the world could not progress towards a beautiful ideal of society or a scientific one until the nations federated on an amiable basis. But while these words were yet unspoken the Solicitor, with prophetic acumen and godly insight, denounced them as "Propaganda," while the Chairman said he was there to "elicit facts and not listen to speeches." This last indiscreet sentence must now pass as ignorance. This is the more lamentable as had it read "elicit facts and not listen to evidence" it would have passed with the public not as bias and illiteracy, but as a decisive, rich, and becoming paradox. I had further evidence to show that the literature of Greece had done more for humanity than the wars of Greece; that Van Tromp, with all his magnificence did not do so much for Holland as Rembrandt and Discartus; that the Spaniards' best day was not when the Armada was loosened, but when Valasquez took up his palette. The Lord waved me down. How could I rise from my insignificance. I only had on my side the lessons of ancient decapitated scientists and charcoal heretics while the Tribunal were greatly inspired and strengthened by the methods of Torquemada. Their actions taught me that the man with estates was in the place of Democracy; the Camera Man in the place of the Artist; the Attorney in the place of the Economist, and the Draper of Bodies in the place of Humanitarians. Before the Tribunal the appellant with artistic ideas is dismissed, the man with rheumatism postponed, and the wine merchant exempt from military service. Then after having stopped me speaking in my own defence one had the temerity to ask if I objected to bloodshed.

Our Comrade Russ sat next before the Tribunal and his case was dealt with in the same clean and aristocratic spirit. They "elicited" genealogical facts about his grandmother and partly forgotten brothers; details which are most valuable to any analysis of scientific ideals or the individual conscience. But while on the side of lineage, the examination was most wise and thorough, there are three small points to which the Tribunal were inexcusably indifferent. I admit that a consideration of the forgotten details would in no way have altered the result of the trial, for in all cases the conduct and decision of the Tribunal showed great forethought and preparation. In no instance can I remember a hasty and spontaneous injustice being done to the appellant, for the Socialists were only dismissed after careful consultation with the versatile Labour Leader, while the Religionists were dismissed only after the Chairman's chat with the Christian member. The first of these three unconsidered trifles in Russ's case was that he wore a black scarf of crepe-de-chine, which should have been noted by at least one member of the Tribunal for its photographic possibilities; the second, that sometimes in the summer he slept in the open at night, which should have been elicited and condemned by the Builder; the third, that as a Socialist he would not fight in a capitalist war, which should



have been considered by all, as in this assertion, all were alike equally implicated and condemned. But if we review the matter with a milder and less intolerant mind we will understand that if Russ did not know what parts of his Marxian economics were a heritage from his grandmother, his own statement of International Faith is, in the ten or twelve eyes of the Tribunal, robbed of half its value. But his trial ended well, for, as he declared he would not do medical work and assist the wounded, the Tribunal considerably gave him non-combatant duties in which he will only have to help the injured.

When our Comrade Hudson sat next in the chair the modern God filled his pipe and the clerk read the appeal. It was a reiteration of the communists' ideal of Wealth Production. The Lord asked what denomination he belonged to. Now with myself, as I have a pale face, there was some pertinence in the Quaker question, but with Hudson it is different. He is not sickly or peevish; there is not a trace of suffering on his face. It would have been more relevant to have asked the noble Lord if he was the only support his wife had or ask a poet if he sold matches. Our comrade replied that he was an atheist. The Christian Draper sniffed. A man here who would not submit to Kitchener and denied the authority—"You are one of them who resent all kind of control then, eh?" he said. "Not all control," our comrade replied, "only such as you have." The Chairman was indignant to hear a youthful idealist give such a retort to a shopkeeper who sold the best linen within the farthing of a shilling in the town; to a man who has distributed more bibles and advertisements and subscribed to more church organs in a year than the applicant would do in fifty years. In these days of heresy and commerce one can forgive a taunt to God, pass over a slight to Kitchener, but what Chairman of what tribunal can pass over an Internationalist's insult to a homely employer. He cautioned our comrade and later dismissed the case.

The next judgment was to be upon our comrade Wilkins. He, too, was an Internationalist. Had the first been the only one of the day the idea could have been discredited and regarded as isolated Quixotism and futile faith. The poor, bewildered master of the show moreover learned that this Socialist was a Monist. "What is a Monist?" Alas! my

(Reprinted from the SOCIALIST STANDARD, May, 1916)

## WHAT THEY SAID (Continued from page 122)

idiotic praise of everything British and the belittling of the same thing when done by the alien, all make it increasingly obvious that the "glorious institution", the capitalist Press, is one gross insult to the intelligence of the people. The SOCIALIST STANDARD, September, 1915.)

It would be an admirable thing if all unmarried men between 18 and 30 without the manhood to offer themselves, were forcibly pressed into the Army and put into battalions where the kicks should be far more than the ha'pence. (The Daily Express, August 20th, 1914.)

### God's Purposes and the War

It is God's leading that we are following now. War is the instrument through which

God is working out his own purpose. (Canon Alexander of St. Paul's, STANDARD, August 25th, 1914.)

And this is what the war really meant. . .

. . . some have gone into dug-outs to try to get a few hours sleep, but this is almost impossible, for the earth shakes from the vibrations of the artillery. The lice crawl all over the body, driving one nearly frantic, and the rats are in swarms and run over us. But there are some corpses lying out on the top, with plenty of rats around them, so they won't go hungry. (A Soldier In The Trenches, The Ploughshare, March, 1917.)

### The War for "Freedom"

The Daily Mail wants the names of every known pacifist or active friend of Germany

Lord, you have given Oxford over to ignominy; the hallowed pile is desecrated. In the past, we are told, much damage and havoc was done with the Jawbone of an ass, but it was infinitesimal compared with that done to the gray and hoary university with the jawbone of our Tribunal Lord. Alas! poor Chairman, you came, you told me, to "elicit facts," but you remain to complete your education. Although Comrade Wilkins explained on his appeal paper that he could more effectively assassinate Rothschild with a new ideal or a new economic law than with an old hatchet—although unlike an Indian God he did not wear a necklace of human bones or a girdle of human skulls, they still enquired whether he was prepared to take life. He replied that he did not believe in the sacredness of the individual existence, only in the sacredness of humanity, and would therefore help to establish Socialism by the ballot if possible but by force if force was essential. "We dismiss your case, Mister Wilkins." As the lordly judge spoke his loyal mouth pennies to the Escutcheon: "You may appeal to the County Tribunal," he said. "To the County Press Gang," our comrade retorted with such truth and emphasis that it became quite inaudible to the Newspaper Correspondent.

There was a long hush. The last of the pearls had been cast before the Tribunal.

The Draper demanded that the room should be cleared of the public. This was assented to by the Labour Leader and endorsed by the Lord.

No one moved.

Then in this Earthly Paradise the Provincial God's still, small voice with a slight Oxford accent, said, "Let there be police," and there were police. But this latter day Lord's behests are not so instantaneously obeyed as formerly, for his wand is only a telephone and his angels wear thick-soled boots.

So there was still time for further heresy and the "Red Flag" was sung, and just as it ended the Constables entered the room and faced the perplexed Tribunal and those pigment Councillors on the walls, whose pensive eyes are fixed on the distant utopian Watford when each of the ten thousand inhabitants was docile and diligent and none had dreamed of Marxian Economics.

H. M. M.

in your city, town or village . . . the names of every speaker or writer who favours Germany, with all you know about the source of his income, the societies to which he belongs, and the relations he has, or has had, with Germany. (The Daily Mail, October 25th, 1917.)

### Talking about Homes. . .

It is a pitiful thing to think of, but thousands of these brave men of ours have better homes in the trenches of Flanders than in the sunless alleys of our Motherland. (Arthur Mee, writing in Lloyd's News, March 26th, 1916.)

Sir Derek Keppel (Master of the King's Household) arrived and went round to inspect several Chateaux considered suitable

# The legacy of 1914-18

WHEN the first world war was declared amid scenes of hysterical enthusiasm from crowds of workers on both sides, few thought that it would drag on for four dreadful years. Nor did many envisage the weapons that would be produced and developed in that period of carnage.

Much of what has been written recently has touched on these weapons, and criticism has centred on the failure of the high-ups to see their possibilities and exploit them to the full. A few months ago, *The Sunday Times Magazine* had this to say about air power, for instance:—

For much of the war pilots were more concerned about painted duels than with the destruction of men and material. The hero worship such individuals gained was great for the home front, but didn't do a lot for the man in the mud . . . real ground strafing did not begin until Messines and Cambrai (1917). Only in the final weeks was the aeroplane fully used as a striking weapon!

Be that as it may, it is not our intention to join the largely futile arguments about who was right and who was wrong, who was far-sighted and who not. Perhaps from the viewpoint of some contemporary historians, the perfect war effort would be one which organised its resources up to the hilt and exploited every weapon to the limits of its potential. Thank goodness there is no such thing as perfection, for had it been achieved, the ghastly story of it all would have been that much ghastlier.

The great lesson is that the war-like nature of capitalism continues, whether or not hostilities are actually in progress. Once a weapon has arrived on the scene,

it will be developed, refined and used until changes in the conduct and techniques of warfare make it out of date. Perhaps the brasshats will be slow to grasp when a particular weapon has had its day and there will be the usual controversy among the war councils.

Let us consider one or two examples. In 1916 the first tanks appeared on the western front, much to the annoyance of the cavalry men. The tank was an early sign that warfare was to become much more mobile. It was the answer to the machine gun nests which had prevailed until then, although some of the Allied chiefs were slow to realise its possibilities. Who, then, would have foreseen the day over twenty years later, when tank warfare would grow to the extent that it did, and Panzer divisions overrun France in a few weeks? But even the tanks of early 1940 were as babies compared with the sixty-ton monsters which smashed their way through Germany from all directions only five years later.

When the first world war broke out, the aeroplane was in its infancy, but at the end it was being used more extensively, and a fleet of four-engined bombers was being prepared to raid Berlin. Here, perhaps, is one of the most apt examples of our point, for the inter-war years saw rapid changes in the design of fighting aircraft. The Spitfire and Hurricane, and their German opposite numbers, could fly at well over three hundred miles per hour, and by 1939 the day of the bomber had really dawned. It is as well to remember, incidentally, that only just before this, the Spanish civil war had provided a testing ground for some of the

new 'planes. Even in the midst of "peace" we are in war.

The growth of air power during 1939-45, and its use against soldier and civilian alike, had its roots in the events of twenty-odd years before. During the first war, the allies had produced incendiary and high explosive bombs which were dropped on enemy airfields with devastating effect. Practically the whole of Baron von Richthofen's Flying Circus was destroyed on the ground in one such raid. German Zeppelins bombed London and other parts until around 1916. But if civilians found the Zeppelin raids terrifying, a glimpse into the future would certainly have widened their eyes still further in horror. For there they would have seen the firestorms of Rotterdam, Hamburg and Dresden, the flying bombs and rockets on London, and the atomic destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

The casualty lists of 1914 shocked many of those who had been so enthusiastic for a fight, and the relief when it was all over was matched only by a "never again" feeling. Post-war conferences of the big powers outlawed dum-dum bullets and poison gas, and supply us with a fitting example of the futility of such a piecemeal approach to the problem of war. For even by then, developments had rendered these weapons obsolete and far more efficient means of killing were to be our lot. Yet it is one of the tragedies that this attitude has persisted until the present time. Even the anti-war movements of the inter war years never got down to an examination of causes.

They have been succeeded by that

for the King's occupation. He fixed one which (for secrecy) is to be prepared for me. Derek is enjoying himself so much that he has asked to stay another day. (The diary of Sir Douglas Haig, Commander of the British forces in France, August 2nd, 1916.)

### Marching on whose stomach?

We then went to Poperinghe. It was now past 2 o'clock, so we stopped and had lunch near some stacks on the road, south of Steenwoorde. A party of refugees passed us and a well-dressed woman and a man came up and asked if they could go by Tournai to Brussels. . . . They had walked all the way from Ostend with a basket on the arm or a pack of clothes on their backs. All that

was left to the poor things of their property. . . . I gave them 2 doz. "Oxo" soup squares for which they seemed most grateful. (The diary of Sir Douglas Haig, Commander of the British forces in France, October 17th, 1914.)

Prince Arthur of Connaught arrived with the Crown Prince of Serbia. . . . Lunch lasted two hours and all enjoyed themselves hugely. (July 7th, 1915). We had coffee after lunch in my writing room, and Joffre enjoyed himself so much that it was 2.20 p.m. before he went. . . . They are, indeed, difficult Allies to deal with! But there is no doubt that the nearest way to the hearts of many of them, including that of the "Generalissimo", is down their throats, and some 1840 brandy had a surprisingly

smooth effect on him and Castlenau! (May 26th, 1916.)

### A PRAYER FOR THE TROOPS

by Alderman Henry F. Morriss

Keep the Officers who lead us; help us all to render them cheerful obedience. May we all endure hardness, as good soldiers of Jesus Christ. When suffering or death comes to us, may the Holy Comforter be as a friend at our side. Grant us speedy Victory over our Enemies; if it be Thy Will. God save the King, the Queen, and all the Royal Family. Give wisdom and courage to all who control the affairs of our Empire. Bless all our Allies, and save them and us with Thy Great Salvation; through Jesus Christ Our Lord. Amen.



prime futility of the fifties—the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. This body has canalised the fright which many understandably felt when Hiroshima and Nagasaki hit the head-lines, but like its predecessors, CND has based its policy on the false assumption that the way to abolish war is to begin by outlawing its worst weapons and then work backwards through the list. "There is no war but nuclear war" was the remark made by one of their young supporters to an S.P.G.B. speaker a few years ago, and it seems a fair summary of at least their earlier attitude.

Last summer saw the signing of the

test ban treaty, and this went to their heads a bit, having the effect of diverting their attention somewhat to other sources of capitalism. The words of Bertrand Russell illustrate to some extent their current feelings. At the end of January this year, he said:—

Owing to changes in government opinion, it seems more possible than it did to avert nuclear war . . . Friends of peace should look for compromise solutions possibly acceptable to both sides. It should also be part of our work to expose punishments inflicted by governments which are unjustifiable and exacerbate

international hospitality. (*Guardian* 29.1.64.)

It has been left to the SPGB to point out that the danger of war is just as great as ever and that the test ban treaty was only a sign of the changing balance of power between the major capitalist countries. It will be the same sort of story as long as capitalism is with us.

The horror of war weapons past, present and future, cannot be divorced from the social system which produces them. Let us correct the words of the young C.N.D'er:—There is no war but a capitalist war.

F. T. C.

## Let's put the kybosh on . . .

PEOPLE who were alive in the Twenties and Thirties will recall the "Songs that won the war." They will remember the song sheets given away by the newspapers, and the gramophone records with singers struggling against a background of phoney battle noises.

Every November brought its Armistice rallies when the same old stuff was ground out once again. The mixture was usually unvaried, the sugary ballads of the Home Front mixed with cleaned up versions of the songs actually sung by the front line soldiers. The impression was always of men going light-heartedly into battle. The memoirs have been published, with their revelations and re-creations, and charges and counter-charges have been flung backwards and forwards. More important still, time has removed many of the participants from the scene. You cannot libel the dead; bitter attacks can now be made which, true or false, would have been dangerous during their lifetime.

Recently there have been radio programmes on the Great War songs, and, of course, the much discussed Theatre Workshop show *Oh! What a Lovely War*, with its witty and savage denunciation of the murder of a generation. They have brought back to life the real war songs. These songs, a product of the ordeal through which so many men passed, sound as fresh and real today as if fifty years had never been. The others are, at their best, museum pieces and, at their worst, nauseating.

All modern wars have one great need; the active support of the proletariat. The time is past when war could be declared

without the knowledge and backing of the working class. Pro-war feeling must be whipped up, and then kept at fever-pitch. One of the means of doing this is the popular song—songs that appeal to the emotions not the intellect. The American Civil War first saw the mass-produced war song. Throughout the Victorian era many forces were at work—the growth of the Music Hall, the spread of literacy, and the sheet music that poured from the presses by the ton to feed the pianos that stood in every front room.

Pianos passed down the social scale, second hand or tenth hand until in the end, like the motor car today, you had a job to get rid of them. Songs had become big business and a profitable war song could not be wasted. When the Spanish-American War broke out in 1898, patriotic songs were churned out for the occasion, but it was over too soon for them to be used. So as the South African war was brewing up they unloaded them in Britain. The famous Goodbye Dolly Grey was written in New York for the Spanish-American War, but it served very well as a morale booster in Britain.

When war broke out in 1914 it was much vaster and grimmer than anything the Victorians had seen, something for which people were totally unprepared. One can follow its progress by studying the popular songs that it produced. They began with pure Jingoism, that belonged to a world in which little campaigns against inferior forces had been fought on the other side of the world. Idiotic jingles like "Belgium put the Kybosh on the Kaiser," "We don't want to lose you,"

with its references to cricket and football, and "Are we downhearted? No!" show a complete ignorance of the real situation, of the gigantic military machine that was rolling into France, to crash into another equally gigantic army. Those songs rapidly disappeared, to be replaced by the recruiting songs.

Great Britain was completely unprepared for this type of war. The standing army was small, conscription was unknown and extensively opposed, and so vast numbers of volunteers were needed. The upsurge of nationalist feeling that accompanied the declaration of war had brought many recruits, but the unparalleled slaughter called for ever more men. Men had to be bullied, cajoled or shamed into uniform. With the white feathers and every kind of pressure came such songs as "Make a Man of Any One of You" and "The Army of Today's Alright." This kind of thing was not needed in 1939; by then conscription and total organisation for war were accepted. It was realised that modern war calls for a large labour force outside of the armed forces, and that people must do what they are told, and go where they are needed. Heroics were not welcome. Such feeble efforts as "He was a handsome Territorial" were ridiculed, even in the national press.

As the 1914/18 war progressed, and things got really bad, people turned to sentimental stuff like Novello's "Keep the Home Fires Burning" and "There's a Long, Long, Trail Awaiting." Later still they tried to escape the ever-growing horror, with its war weariness; they retreated into the pure escapism of musical

## The Passing Show

Spanish Arms . . .

What a fuss has blown up over the cancellation of the "Frigates of Franco" contract! Anyone would think that arms deals between powers had never taken place before. Both government and opposition are striving hard to make as much electoral kudos out of the affair as they can. What a god-send to Sir Alec, looking around for a revival for the sunken Tory spirits; and as the game of shadow boxing is played out in the Commons, press and elsewhere, the same old stench of hypocrisy overall.

Self righteous indignation abounds.

"Insulting a great and proud people!" roars a Tory. "No arms for fascists," jeers Labour in return, although as Government spokesmen have pointed out, Franco will just get his warships elsewhere and British capitalists will lose a few million pounds worth of trade. The Prime Minister says that the opposition have done irreparable harm to "our" trade with Spain, which Mr. Wilson promptly counters by offering to trade with any fascist country, except in war weapons. Gibraltar, one of "our" major bases, has also been drawn into the squabble as an additional red herring. Franco has been after it for years and

comedy, like "Chu Chin Chow" and "The Maid of the Mountains."

But for the soldiers in the never-ending nightmare at the front, there was no escape. Divorced from the normal world in their own private hell, with a front line that never really moved, they wrote and sang songs that had nothing of patriotism or glory in them. Some of them were light-hearted, such as—

Send for the boys of the Old Brigade

To keep Old England free,

Send for me father and me sister and me brother

But for Gawd's sake don't send for me.

But most of them were bitter and paint a terrible picture. The continual bombardments, the crazy offensives in which men were flung in their thousands to certain death, the gas attacks, the discomfort of the trenches and the barbed wire, recur again and again. The dreaded whizz-bangs, the stench of corpses, shortages, contempt for Staff officers, and, above all, a longing for peace, are in ditties usually sung to a hymn tune or popular song. One of the most famous, "Far, Far from Wipers," has the refrain:—

Sing me to sleep, the shadows fall  
Let me forget the war and all  
Damp is my dugout, cold are my feet  
Nothing but biscuits and bully to eat,  
Over the sandbags helmets you'll find  
Corpses in front and corpses behind.  
Damp is my dugout  
Cold are my feet  
Waiting for whizz-bangs  
To put me to sleep.

Perhaps the most ironic was the savage "I Don't Want to be a Soldier," sung to the tune of the recruiting song "Make a

Man of Anyone of You."

One must not, however, read too much into the sentiments of the soldiers' songs. Victims of the world in which they lived, and lacking the knowledge to change it, many of the survivors, on return to normal life, joined ex-service associations like the British Legion. They spent subsequent years parading with flags and medals, and some, who were young enough, were even ready for another dose 20 years later.

L. DALE.

### essential reading

The Case for Socialism	1/-
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

apparently plans to lay claim to it again in the near future.

A fair summary of the current Labour attitude was given by Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, M.P. He said:—

The Labour Party wants trade with all countries, including Spain. We do not believe in trade boycotts, but arms deals are different. . .

which only goes to show how little H.M. Opposition really know about the capitalist world in which they live. First, we cannot resist reminding Mr. Walker that only two or three years back, his party launched a "Don't Buy S. African Goods" campaign in protest against Apartheid; and if that is not a trade boycott, then we don't know what is. (It failed to have any appreciable effect, needless to say).

But this is the sort of inconsistency of which every capitalist party is guilty, but have no difficulty in shrugging off as the shifting sands of politics force a change in posture from time to time. At the moment, the Labour Party is a very strong contender for government, in which case it won't want to be squeamish about whom to trade with. There are, however, matters of deeper import which should concern us, and which none of the other parties can be expected to raise.

The existence of arms anywhere and in any hands is an evil, and since Socialists are not concerned with choosing between evils, we refuse to enter into the futile squabble over the Spanish arms deal. We know that while capitalist society lasts, the State in all its various political complexions will be with us too. And that means coercion at home and abroad. It matters little, after all, whether the bullets which end our lives are home-made or imported.

And what of the trade which Labour and others are so anxious to foster? "Peaceful trade" is how they would all describe it, but there is really no such thing. Trade is a product of private property society. Its very existence means competition, and sooner or later, strife. It cannot be conducted on any other basis or with any different result, yet it seems to mesmerise everyone including workers—the very people who should view it as a curse, not a blessing. Modern trade typifies the anarchy which is capitalism. Despite all the market research, it cannot be regulated and makes a mockery of even the most cautious plans.

But, above all, trade presupposes ease and comfort for the few and deprivation for the rest of us, even when the economy is riding high on a boom. No wonder governments are so anxious for it to continue. These are some of the points which we ask you to bear in mind amidst the mud slinging and irrelevancies of the forthcoming election.



And British double think . . .

What does the word "usefully" mean to you? From our point of view the only satisfactory definition would be "aiming to advance human welfare and happiness." So anything short of that could hardly be called useful. Accepting our definition, would you then say that soldiers perform a useful service? No, neither would we. But it just shows how language can change, or can be changed to suit the interests of capitalism.

A current advert is appealing for male instructors for the Army Cadet Force, and if we are gullible enough to believe it, we will rush to lend a hand. Did you know, for example, that a youngster in the A.C.F. "uses his leisure well?" That the A.C.F. "is concerned with producing good citizens rather than with training future soldiers, but it does this by fostering soldierly qualities?" There is a picture, too, of a smiling uniformed youth at camp with a rifle slung over his shoulder. ("... worthwhile open-air activities")! Search as you may through this prime piece of double think, you will

find no allusion to its object, which should be as obvious as a sore thumb, i.e., to interest youngsters in joining the regular army, where they will have opportunities of exercising their "soldierly qualities" on the battlegrounds of the future.

Nowadays, the armed forces have to compete with industry for manpower, and rates of pay have been increased in an effort to attract youngsters. But despite the various improvements in pay and conditions, the dirt, discomfort and disciplines, to say nothing of the possibility of a violent death at some time or another, are the sorts of drawbacks which set the government propagandists a difficult task. They must decide when to play down (or ignore) the unpleasantnesses and when to glamorise them. So the young cadet is just "learning good citizenship." But when he is in the parent force, what then?

This is when the glamorising experts take over. For today's army officer is "... professional." In the Royal Signals, for instance, he speaks to his commander

"in the capacity of professional adviser." It says so in another advert. The place of our fresh-faced cadet has been taken by a good-looking young man in his early twenties, whom the camera catches in earnest discussion with his superiors during manoeuvres. Oh yes, they do discuss this officer's function in battle, but with a subtle air of detachment, deftly balanced against glamour and flattery, thus:—

And because he is first and foremost a soldier, he has also the most rewarding responsibility of all—the lives and welfare of his own men.

We can guarantee that never in any of the recruitment adverts will you find even a hint at the real purpose of the armed forces. Nowhere will you be told just what a really dirty job it is, in every sense, to be a soldier, sailor or airman. That whatever the inducements they hold out, the object is still to protect the interests of British capitalism at home and abroad. And that means—sooner or later, killing other workers.

E. T. C.

## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### AT HOME

#### Police

As many people who have been roped in for some minor offence know, the "half bricks" case is only the part of the iceberg above the water. It does not need a cynic to wonder whether the official explanation for the rampages of Detective Sergeant Challenor, that he was overworked and mentally sick, is just another cover-up.

To be imprisoned for something which you have not done is galling in the extreme; no sum of money can restore a period of lost liberty. To be submitted, in addition, to the sort of indignities which Challenor and his men were accustomed to visit upon their unfortunate arrests is intolerable.

Yet outraged sympathy for the victims is not enough. Why is it only now admitted that Challenor was unbalanced? Did this not show up in court when he gave his evidence? Was it not apparent to his superior officers?

The plain, awful fact is that a system of law-enforcement must rely in some cases on men like Challenor, and upon magistrates and high police officers closing an eye to any doubts about the

methods he has used to gather the "evidence" which puts people away.

Crime must be an undercover business, which means that some police work must also go underground. It is a known fact that often, when the police think they have a criminal in their grasp, they are not above cooking a bit of evidence to make their case conclusive. Only occasionally are these practices uncovered—in most cases the accused is guilty anyway.

But sometimes he is not. Challenor's victims suffered nothing worse than a spell in prison, bad as that may be. In the case of Timothy Evans there is good reason to believe that the police technique cost a man his life.

Capitalism is not without its legal rights and it is anxious that these should be protected. But in the end the complex scientific police force and massive judicial machine which capitalism has developed to protect its property structure depends on the man on the beat.

It depends on the distraught detective, the not over-sensitive constable, the inspector with a down on political demonstrators. These men have an awesome power over someone's life—and too often there is nobody to call them to account for their actions. Property society is a dirty business and so are the various organisms it has fashioned to maintain itself. It is hard going for anyone who tries to keep it all clean and above board.

### ABROAD

#### Cyprus

Politicians say some silly things, some of which live on to mock their memory long after they are dead.

One of these was Alan Lennox Boyd's famous "Never" over Cyprus. When he said that, the British government seemed immovable over the fate of the island, basing their attitude on the 1956 Colonial Office Report:—

Her Majesty's Government formally recognised the principle of self-determination, but considered its application not to be a practical proposition at the present time on account of the existing situation in the Eastern Mediterranean.

To support that classical piece of diplomatic evasion, hundreds of British soldiers—and not a few civilians—were killed. The strife and the confusion in Cyprus have persisted until today, even after the so-called truce, the island remains one of the world's ugliest spots.

And among the confusion, a certain fact gleams. Lennox-Boyd—now Lord Boyd—is a political ghost, his foolish words gone down in history. The policy he applied is almost dead. Britain is no longer hell bent on staying in Cyprus.

Only reluctantly did Whitehall agree to send a British contingent to the UN force in Cyprus; they are now anxiously pulling their soldiers out. Lennox Boyd

made many bitter attacks upon *enosis* but his latter day successor, Duncan Sandys, now refuses to be drawn on the issue.

This sort of *volte face* is not new, nor particularly remarkable. But it is part of a very sordid story and someone should point out the moral of it.

The British government have now virtually admitted that, even by their own standards, the casualties of the war against EOKA were incurred for no good reason. This sort of things has happened before—and each time it happens it should rouse the working class to a fury of dissent.

But they are never so roused. Each time the call goes out for another lot of colonial cannon fodder—for Aden, for Malaya, for Borneo—there is no hanging back. The official propaganda about primitive savages desecrating the graceful achievements of the British colonisers, continues to be accepted almost without question. There seems to be no end to it. No wonder politicians say so many silly things—they get away with them so easily.

### POLITICS

#### Nationalisation

The Tories are doing their best to blow up Nationalisation into one of the big issues of the coming general election. In this, they are helped by organisations like Aims of Industry (Say No To Nationalisation) and most of the big steel firms, who are preparing to sell themselves dearly if they are taken under State control.

Naturally, this side are rather careful in their choice of arguments. They stress the large deficits which, after payment of interest, are declared by some nationalised concerns. This impresses many workers who, although they live on the edge of insolvency, like to think that the Bank of England and the other State industries belong to them.

The anti-nationalisers make cracks about slate in the coal and dirty railway carriages, although they know perfectly well that these existed before the State took over.

All this is good for a laugh. It may even win a few votes. But it ignores the basic facts of nationalisation.

State control is not something dreamed up by the Labour Party in the nineteen forties. It has nothing to do with Socialism. It is an old established method, which the capitalist class have used from time to time, of trying to deal with particular problems. All three big parties in this country have had a crack at it—including the Conservatives.

Because of this, the capitalist class generally take a view of nationalisation rather different from that of the theorists of political parties who, apart from their concern with their theories, are also worried about getting into power.

This viewpoint is being pressed, as the election draws nearer, by some of the papers which speak with the voice of the capitalist class as a whole. *The Economist*, although it does not welcome the prospect of steel nationalisation, was pleading last May for the "least bad way" of imposing it. *The Observer* of June 21st concluded that:—

Ideally it ought to be possible for a Government, whether Labour or Tory, to launch new, competitive publicly-owned enterprises... public ownership and competition, far from being contradictory, are complementary.

*The Guardian* at the beginning of last month went into the figurework of the matter, comparing the incomes of some private and State industries. They pointed out that what the Prime Minister has called "the junkyard of nationalisation" in fact has "some extremely healthy giants" in it.

The meaning behind this is that capitalists as a whole are not over interested in political theories on nationalisation, or indeed on any other matter. They treat political policies on their merits, by which they mean their profitability, sometimes in isolation, sometimes to the economy as a whole.

Thus they may require some industries to be nationalised, because they are large and nationally important or because they have an appetite for investment which only the State can guarantee to satisfy. (*The Guardian* says that the Electricity Boards are investing enough money *every ten days* to build the Channel Tunnel.)

Both Labour and Conservative Parties, as their recent policies show, have broadly adopted this attitude. On the hustings they grapple with each others' shadows but in the background the business of capitalism goes on undisturbed.

#### GLASGOW MEETING

Friday, 21st August, 7.30 pm

McLellan Galleries  
Sauchiehall Street

#### 50 YEARS AFTER

Speakers: T. Mulheron, J. Richmond

#### ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Hammersmith Town Hall  
Wednesday, 16th September, 8 pm  
60 YEARS FOR SOCIALISM

### WOODSIDE

Several large indoor meetings are being arranged in Glasgow during September and October for the General Election campaign. Full details will be published in the September issue.

### BROMLEY

The following meetings have been arranged for September in Bromley. Full details in the September issue.

Friday, 11th September  
ELECTION PROMISES!

Friday, 18th September  
WAR

Friday, 25th September  
PROSPERITY OR  
UNEMPLOYMENT

#### PUBLIC MEETING

Conway Hall, Red Lion Sq., WC1  
WAR & the SPGB  
Speakers: R. Critchfield, C. May  
Wednesday 12th August, 8 pm

#### PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE

Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
(near Marylebone Rd. and Tube)  
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm  
August 19th  
FILM & LECTURE ON WAR

#### WELWYN GARDEN CITY

Room 3, Community Centre,  
Mill Green Road  
Thursday, August 13th at 8 pm  
EDUCATION FOR WHAT?  
K. Knight

#### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

##### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm and 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth  
2nd and 23rd August, noon  
9th and 30th August, 11 am  
16th August, 1 pm  
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 pm

##### Mondays

Lincolns Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

##### Wednesdays

Outside Charing Cross Tube Station  
Villiers Street, 8 pm

##### Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm  
Market Place, Bromley, 7.30 pm  
Earls Court, 8 pm  
Hyde Park, 8 pm

##### Fridays

Earls Court, 14th and 28th August,  
8 pm

##### Saturdays

Hyde Park, 7.30 pm



# SOCIALIST STANDARD

The Official Organ of **THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain.

No. 121. Vol. 11.]

LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1914.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## THE WAR, AND THE SOCIALIST POSITION.

**Whereas** The capitalists of Europe have quarrelled over the questions of the control of trade routes and the world's markets, and are endeavouring to exploit the political ignorance and blind passions of the workers of their respective countries in order to induce the workers to take up arms in their own defence, and

These workers, therefore, will only be able to secure their own interests by the struggle against the capitalist class—and as the workers' interests are not concerned with the struggle between the masters and the workers, but in the struggle against the system under which they are robbed, they are not concerned with the European struggle, which is a struggle for the capitalists, and not their own.

**THE SOCIALIST PARTY** of Great Britain, in order to keep the issue clear by expounding the **CLASS STRUGGLE**, and whilst placing on record the latest manifestation of the callous, sordid and mercenary nature of the international capitalism, and that no interests are at stake justifying the shedding of a single drop of working-class blood, protest against the brutal and bloody butchery of our brothers of this and other lands, who are being sent to fight for cannon abroad while suffering and starvation are the lot of their fellows at home.

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity, and urge them to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

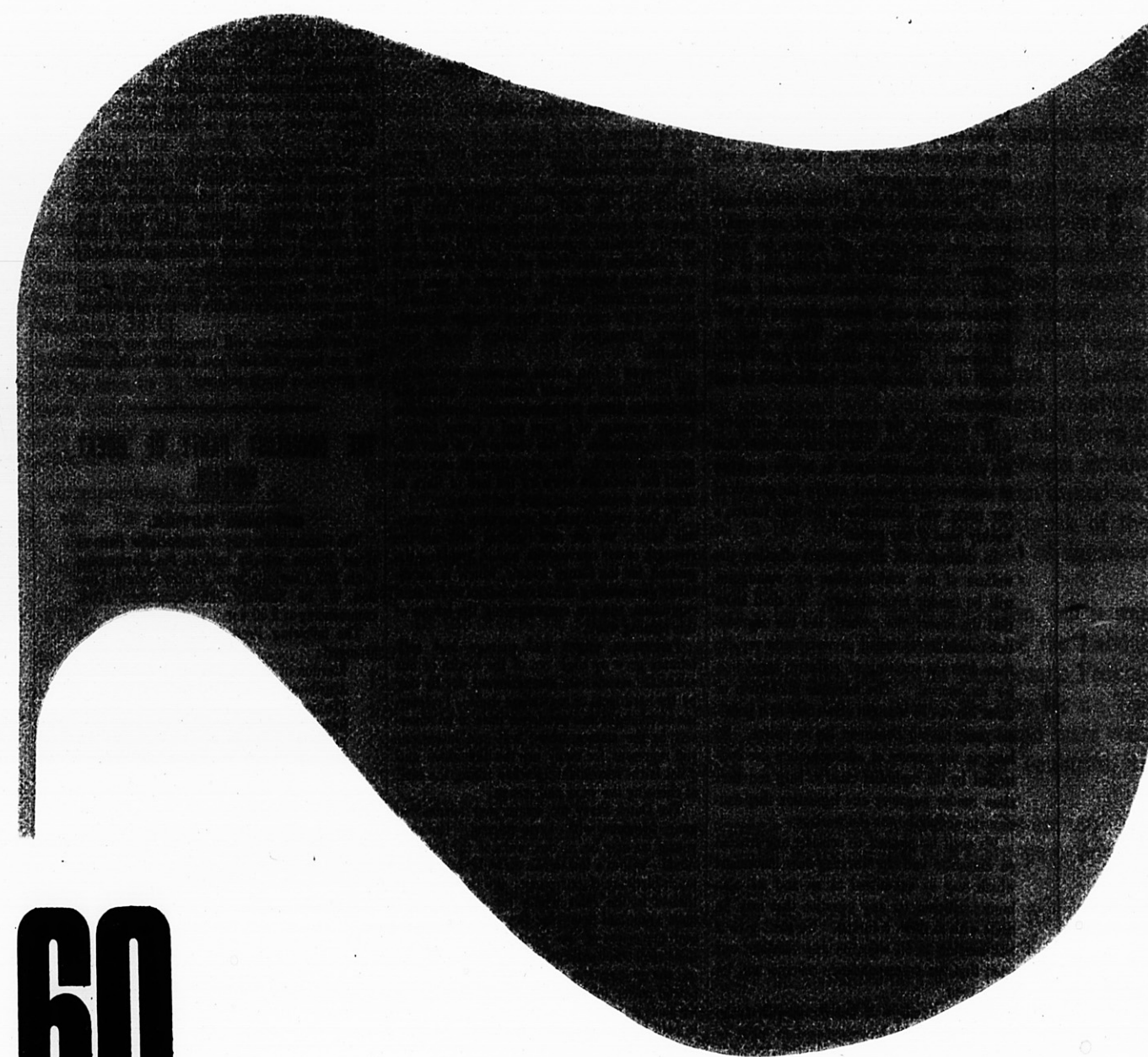
**THE WORLD FOR THE WORKERS!**



60th Anniversary number

# Socialist Standard

Official Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland



# 60 Years for Socialism

SEPTEMBER 1964 | 6d

No 721. Vol 60.



THE  
Official Organ  
of  
The  
Socialist Party  
of  
Great Britain.

# THE SOCIALIST STANDARD

No. 1. VOL. I.]

LONDON, SEPTEMBER, 1904.

[MONTHLY, ONE PENNY.]

## EDITORIAL.

### TO OUR READERS.

Having inaugurated The Socialist Party of Great Britain, we find it indispensable that we should have a journal in which our views may be expressed.

We venture, therefore, to place before you THE SOCIALIST STANDARD, and trust that it will meet with your approval.

In The Socialist Party of Great Britain we are all members of the working class, and cannot hope that our articles will always be finely phrased, but we shall at least endeavour to lay before you on every occasion a sane and sound pronouncement on all matters affecting the welfare of the working class. What we lack in refinement of style we shall make good by the depth of our sincerity and by the truth of our principles.

We shall, for the present content ourselves with a monthly issue, but we are confident that the various demands upon us, by the quantity of matter at our disposal, and by the growth of our party, will necessitate in the near future, a weekly issue of our paper.

In dealing with all questions affecting the welfare of the working-class our standpoint will be frankly revolutionary. We shall show that the misery, the poverty, and the degradation caused by capitalism grows far more rapidly than does the enacting of palliative legislation for its removal. The adequate alleviation of these ills can be brought about only by a political party having Socialism for its object. So long as the powers of administration are controlled by the capitalist class so long can that class render nugatory any legislation they consider to unduly favour the workers.

We shall be pleased to consider any articles on Socialism and the working-class movement which may be submitted to us, and we also invite criticism on any question that may be dealt with in these columns. We shall give a fair hearing to all sides on any question, and trust that our correspondence columns will be freely used.

In future numbers of THE SOCIALIST STANDARD fresh features will be introduced in order to make our paper the worthy organ of The Socialist Party of Great Britain, and so that members of either the Socialist or of the non-Socialist section of the community, seeking for reliable information on Socialism in all its ramifications, will never fail to find their requirements satisfied in our columns. Any suggestions for the improvement of the paper which may be submitted will receive our serious consideration.

We invite your most merciless criticism of our work, but at the same time we sincerely trust that if THE SOCIALIST STANDARD meets with your approval you will do your utmost by recommending it to your friends to make it worthy of its name and of the Socialist movement.

THE EDITORIAL COMMITTEE.

## THE INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS AT AMSTERDAM.

### The Welcome to Delegates.

[From "Het Volk."]

(CONRAD),  
THE Netherlands Social-Democratic Party gives you a hearty welcome!

The Paris International Congress of 1900 conferred upon the still young Dutch Party the honour of receiving the representatives of the world's Socialist organisations in 1904, and it is to Amsterdam that from all parts of the earth are flocking together the hundreds of men and women entrusted with the will of the millions of toilers, who carry the heavy burden of capitalism throughout the Earth's length and breadth.

The eyes of the entire conscious proletariat are now turned towards Amsterdam, where the proletarian forces are concentrated, bearing the happy message of a new and a better future. The organisation of the class-war is now the principal object. But even through our strife itself the seeds are sown for the task of days to come, the organisation after the victory.

To this twofold task of organising the strenuous battle, we are now fighting with all the strength of our convictions, and of breaking the ground for the future society, which is necessarily germinating in the cesspool of unfettered capitalism, you are concentrating the labour of this coming week.

Proletarian might and courage and self-reliance grow up high out of the wealth of our scientific researches, strengthened day by day by the hard facts of capitalism itself. Proletarian forethought and prudence have to be observed by the masses, whose will and intentions you represent, for many are the difficulties and great is the responsibility when facing the task of choosing the ways and means.

The Dutch Party, too, awaits your debates and your decisions with keen interest. However young we may be in the ranks of the International—within a few weeks we will celebrate the tenth birthday of our party; and then, strengthened by the rules which the Congress will have again laid down for the international life and movement of the proletariat, we will promise each other earnestly and solemnly to carry on the propaganda of our principles with renewed power until the victory is gained. And we shall no less proclaim our unshakable will to hold high—above all differences of opinion, which with us can and may be but temporary—that unity of action, without which the proletariat can never excel in power its great and still mighty enemy. In the prosperous growth of our party nothing is more natural than difference of opinion concerning the means of action. But all exchange of thoughts about such differences must be governed by the earnest desire to find, on the basis of proletarian science and of proletarian consciousness, the solution which shall warrant unity of action.

That shall be our firm resolve, when by and by we shall look back upon our labours of ten years and shall gather new strength for the times to come.

In the far East capitalism is forcing the workers of two great nations to fight each other in

bloody battles. In the colonies it wages its exterminating wars to gain ever larger fields for its insatiable lust of exploitation. In the industrial countries it lays like a leaden burden upon the working classes. In the agricultural districts it fosters as much as possible the ignorance and the unconsciousness of the toiling masses.

Against this irresponsible power we direct our forces, whose war-cry is—Organisation and Unity!

And the serring of our ranks is now of greater importance than ever, where the churches are of late openly using their influence solely on behalf of capitalism. Bearers of Christian love and clarity, as they call themselves, they throw the ethics of Christianity to the dogs, and freely accept the ethics of capitalism.

This we experience even in our country, and we arm ourselves formidably for this new form of old battle.

Your discussions will strengthen our power. We are happy to see you in our midst, and we give you a hearty welcome!

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN.

### OFFICIAL NOTICE.

The General Meeting of the Socialist Party of Great Britain will be held at the Communist Club, 107, Charlotte Street, Fitzroy Square, London, W., on Sunday, 18th September, 1904, commencing at 9.30 a.m.

The following Preliminary Agenda has been arranged:

- Election of Chairman.
- Appointment of Stewards.
- Election of Standing Orders Committee.
- Report of the Executive Committee.
- Party Organ.
- Rules.
- Report of Delegates to the International Socialist Congress, Amsterdam.
- Party Emblem.
- Premises.
- Election of General Secretary.
- Election of Treasurer.
- Other business.
- On behalf of the Executive Committee,  
(Signed) C. LEHANE,  
Genl. Secretary.

### LITERATURE AGENCY.

Branches and members should purchase their literature through the Party Agent, F. C. Watts, 154, Ashmore Road, Paddington, London, W. Write for particulars as to terms, etc.

### CENTRAL ECONOMIC CLASS.

The class meets weekly and is free to all. Full particulars will be sent on application to J. Fitzgerald, 34, Wilmington Square, London, W.

At the council meeting of the Metropolitan Radical Federation held on Saturday, 20th August, Mr. Herbert Burrows was unanimously appointed delegate to the International Peace Congress at Boston, U.S.A., in September. He will, doubtless, prove an able representative of Radical principles.

September 1964 Vol 60 No 721

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain and the World  
Socialist Party of Ireland



### SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting September 27th.

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## Retrospect

In this special issue we commemorate the sixtieth anniversary of the publication of the first *Socialist Standard*.

In all that time it has never missed an issue. Through the vicissitudes of two world wars, when we often wondered whether we would be able to carry on at all, to economic slump when we were able to continue publication only through the goodwill of our printers, who carried us in debt for years, the *Socialist Standard* has carried on.

Now, we look back on those years, sixty years which have seen so many changes and many terrible events.

Opposite this page we publish the front cover of the first *Socialist Standard*. It takes us back into another world, September, 1904—when the motor-car was still a dangerous novelty; when Orville Wright had only a few months before flown the first aeroplane, for just 12 seconds. Fleming had recently invented the thermionic valve, but radio was still in the distant future; and Rutherford had just begun his researches into the structure of the atom which were to result, forty years later, in the annihilation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

War in those days was something associated with petty campaigns to subdue the native populations of Africa and Asia, although the Boer War had given a foretaste of more serious things to come. The *Entente Cordiale* between Britain and France had been signed a year earlier as a defence against German capitalism, a grimmer warning of the holocaust in the future. And the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese War a few months earlier presaged both the rise of Japanese capitalism and the Russian Revolution of 1917.

In the world of politics there was a lot of talk about Socialism, but it was really reformism that was making the running. The formation of the Labour Party had still to wait two years, but parties like the Social Democratic Federation, the Fabians, and the I.L.P., were already busily paving the way for it. The German Social Democratic Party enjoyed the support of millions and there were similar and strong parties in France, Austria, Italy, and other countries, all claiming to be Socialist.

To the uncritical, it looked as though Socialism was round the corner. The message by the Dutch Social Democratic Party on our first front page opposes reflects this general feeling of optimism.

But the uncritical were mistaking the high-flown verbiage for the hard content. All of these parties were to become tied to programmes of reform that ultimately extinguished what little spark of revolutionary aims they had. All of them were dominated by the fatal principle of leadership, of state-control and nationalisation; and all their pretence of internationalism was shattered into so many fragments by their support for the First World War.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain refused to follow them along this road. Our first editorial set out the principle we have adhered to ever since. In our fifth paragraph we said: "In dealing with all questions affecting the welfare of the working-class our standpoint will be frankly revolutionary. We shall show that the misery, the poverty and the degradation caused by capitalism, grow far more rapidly than does the enacting of palliative legislation for its removal. The adequate alleviation of these ills can be brought about only by a political party having Socialism for its object."

This statement, made sixty years ago this month, we can still reproduce today; over 700 issues of the *Socialist Standard* testify to the consistency with which we have held to it.



## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

## Maurice Thorez

Maurice Thorez, who led the French Communists when they were the largest political party in France, died last July. His career is a classical example of the Communist technique of forming alliances of conveniences, of employing any means to achieve their ends, of compromising and of plain double-dealing.

Thorez's early years followed a familiar pattern of agitation and imprisonment. In the middle of this he was elected to the French Parliament and in 1930 became the party's Secretary-General. Then came these highlights in Communist history:—

1930. French Communist Party join the Popular Front Movement, in alliance with Leon Blum's "Socialists" and Daladier's "Radicals."

1936. Communists refuse seats in Blum's government, back strikers against the government.

1939. Communists support Russo/German Pact of non-aggression and friendship. Deladier declares Communist Party illegal. Thorez called up but deserts to Russia.

1940. Thorez and Duclos sign appeal which attacks the "warmongering French Bourgeoisie," urges overthrow of Leon Blum, but omits to condemn the Nazi rulers of France. Communist Party tries to obtain permission of German Occupation forces to resume publication of the banned paper *Humanité*.

1941. German invasion of Russia. French Communists join forces with de Gaulle, who excuses Thorez's desertion and makes him Minister of State.

1946/7. Thorez serves as Minister of State in governments under Gouin, Bidault and Ramadier until alliance between Communists, "Socialists" and MRP breaks down under the strain of Indo-China war.

Since then, the fortunes of the French Communist Party have declined. No longer are they the country's largest party, no longer have they any prospects of filling important ministries in a government.

One of the men—Bidault—they once supported as an act of Left Wing expediency is now the darling of the Right-Wing extremists. Another—de Gaulle—is virtually dictator of France.

One thing, however, remains. The French Communists still trim their sails to catch

the lighter breeze from Moscow, still recast their policies overnight to suit the interests of the Russian government.

This is established Communist policy all over the world. The Communists defend it by arguing that it is intended to gain working class support, and to elect a Communist government which will then introduce Socialism.

This policy has always been theoretically wrong and has been shown up as hopeless in practice. In many countries it has been exposed and France, where Thorez left a party in the depths of impotence and futility but still churning out the old confusion, is one of them.

## Meaning of affluence

One of the myths which have helped to buoy up British capitalism over recent years has been the great illusion of Affluence.

This "Affluence" has had some gaps in it glaring enough to be spotted by even the most deluded worker. Equally obvious should have been the mean standards by which working class conditions have been judged.

A cramped, nondescript little house which is being bought on a lifetime's mortgage; a mass produced car at the kerbside; a television set. These are what add up to "affluence."

How the ruling class—or the more perceptive of them—must chuckle at this massive deception! Because they are the people who know what affluence really means. They live in style, in what may fairly be described as houses. They do not fear the prospect of sickness, or unemployment, or old age, as do the "affluent" working class.

Consider, for example, the case of Mr. Michael Fitzgerald Heathcoat-Amory, aged 22, address Oswaldkirk Hall, Yorkshire. This young man's income at the moment is £11,000 a year—interest from a trust fund left by an uncle who was killed in the war—and what the *Daily Telegraph* described as "... a large sum from other sources."

But there has recently been some rearrangement in the affairs of Mr. Heathcoat-Amory. As the result of a High Court ruling, he will now receive a lump sum of about £175,000, which is around 65 per cent. of the original trust fund. The balance—about £85,000—will remain in trust, accumulating interest to be inherited by any children Mr. Heathcoat-Amory may have.

Now this is Affluence. And nothing done for it, by the young man or his children yet unborn, except to be conceived in the right womb, and born in the right room at the right time.

We have, of course, come across Mr. Heathcoat-Amory's name before. He is the nephew of the Mr. Derek Heathcoat-Amory who made his name as the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who fed the pigeon on his window sill on Budget Day. The Chancellor's job partly consists of trying to keep British capitalism prosperous by urging the workers not to press wage claims.

It is obvious that the Heathcoat-Amorys know it all—about poverty and affluence and about where they come from.

## The Stock Exchange

What's that you're reading son?

It's an ad. about the Stock Exchange—jolly interesting.

What's it say?

Well Dad, it's written like a chat between a boy and his father. The boy's doing some lessons at school on the Stock Exchange and he's asking his Dad about them.

School, eh?

Yes Dad, and a posh one it sounds, too—boys called This Minor and That Major and their fathers are jobbers and things like that and I know that's posh because the ad. says they're the people stockbrokers buy shares from and sell them to.

That's real interesting, son. Anything else?

Well, it says the Stock Exchange benefits us all, Dad. And we all invest in it. I know you pay the insurance man every week but you never told me that that makes you an investor. We must be posh! Think I'll add Major to my surname.

Hang on, son. That isn't why I take out an insurance. I couldn't care less what they do with my premiums; I've got to pay them because on my money I've got to put something by for when I'm sick or when I retire. If there weren't insurance firms I'd probably keep it in an old sock or something.

You're not like the fathers in this ad, then?

That's it, son.

Anyway, I suppose if you were an investor getting all those profits you wouldn't really need an insurance policy or anything?

As they say in this ad., son, you're catching on quick.

What's it all about then, Dad?

Well, it's true that I can invest in stocks and shares if I want to. It's like the old song; if I didn't eat I'd have money to burn.

But you might get dividends, Dad.

I might. Three or four per cent. of what I'd invested, perhaps. I might even make a bit of money buying shares when the price was low and selling them when it was high.

But that cuts the other way. If I may say so, Dad, you might buy when the price was high and sell when it was low—so you'd lose money.

Correct. But whatever happened I could never expect to make very much. How much can I afford to invest? And what sort of dividend or capital gain, as they call it, would I make on it? How long would that last if I got the same... sorry, if I became redundant?

Not long. Who does make money on the Stock Exchange, then?

Just like in any other form of gambling—the big gamblers. But the dividends come from the profits which are made by people like me going out to work for an employer. And you, when you're old enough to work.

What else comes out of the profits?

Well, an employer has lots of things to

pay out of them—rent, interest on loans, perhaps, government taxes, and so on.

So where does the Stock Exchange come in, Dad?

Well, it only deals in the stocks and shares, which are the legal documents which give the right to the dividends. And if a company or something needs more money the Stock Exchange can organise it, by selling lots more of those documents. But this doesn't alter the fact that profit comes from the exploitation of the working people.

So the Stock Exchange isn't really necessary?

Well, Son, I suppose that as far as capitalism goes it isn't a bad idea. *Something's* got to do the work of the Stock Exchange, just like something's got to do the work of judges and policemen and insurance salesmen and the rest. If they didn't exist, capitalism would have had to create them, in a manner of speaking. But this makes no difference to you or me, or to anyone like us. We'd be better off in a world which didn't need all those things.

So the Stock Exchange isn't all it's cracked up to be in this ad., eh, Dad?

Well, Son, like I've always said, don't believe all you read in the papers.

## Rachmanism revised

Fears that Rachmanism still stalks the borough of Willesden have edged the Council there into setting up a permanent rackets watchdog to probe housing scandals. (*Kilburn Times*, July 10th, 1964).

Social researcher Mr. Peter Whittaker has drawn up a Black Dossier to be studied by the Milner-Holland Committee. Labour Alderman Reg. Freeson says that the rackets are still increasing in the borough; "Every housing racket we investigate we get the terrifying feeling that just around the corner there is another racket we cannot put our finger on."

Councillor Winnick was even horrified to see fresh rackets on the council list this year. This was capped by Conservative Councillor Miss Wallis, who said, "Wherever there is a shortage you will find the spivs."

Capitalist parties have always told us that they could manage the problems of society by just a little oil there, a tightening of a screw here; no need to get rid of private property, the profit motive or the wages system. Far too sweeping they said; it may be alright for later on, but we must deal with this or that problem right now. In Willesden they are not only still dealing with the immediate problem—it appears to be getting on top of them.

Shortly these same parties will be padding from door to door cadging for votes. They will point to their glowing records of social service and endeavour, and promise to cure what they promised to cure at the last election and the one before that, and before that, and before that...

M.P.s. who have been conspicuous by their absence from their constituency will soon be seen smiling concernedly on street corners, knocking on doors enquiring about the needs of their electorate. They do these things because they need the workers' votes to give

them power to run capitalism as they think best.

While the workers support capitalism, the problems of poverty, rackets, bad and short supply, housing, crime and unemployment will continue. In its struggles on the international field, capitalism will often produce a war of some sort or the other.

Capitalism is one big Rachmanism. Since when have even the most pious of property owners been free of the taint of exploiting others? When the Rachmanites apply strong arm methods on a small scale on their tenants, isn't this what the Big Boys do on a large scale when they wish to annexe or "protect" someone else's possessions overseas?

Rackets do not begin and end in Willesden.

## The VC10

The VC10 affair was one of the government's more publicised mistakes.

Aircraft are always newsworthy objects—nothing pleases a patriotic British worker more than reports that a British 'plane is selling well abroad. He enthuses over the aircraft's sleek lines, over its tasteful livery. To him it is a lovely object, a thoroughbred—unlike American aircraft which, he thinks, are slipshod jobs whose engines are always going wrong and whose wings cannot be relied upon not to fall off.

So it came about that the VC10 carried a lot of hopes, including those of the government and the British aircraft industry.

But the clouds gathered quickly about the new airliner and rumours grew thick until BOAC's new chief, Sir Charles Guthrie, in the unkindest cut of all, clearly indicated that the VC10 was not the aircraft he would choose if his airline was to run at maximum profit.

The government, falling between the two stools of its own support for the new 'plane and its unequivocal instruction to Guthrie to run BOAC as a purely commercial undertaking, compromised by cutting BOAC's order and holding up some of the other aircraft already on the way.

This has made the Ministry of Aviation look rather foolish.

Everyone now knows that the VC10 was expected to be a winner because it needed shorter runways than its American rivals—and could therefore land at places which were closed to the Boeing and the Douglas—but this advantage has been wiped out by the smaller airports lengthening their runways especially to take the big American jets.

Everyone now knows that the British Aircraft Corporation originally recommended building an aircraft almost identical to the Boeing 707 and the Douglas DC8, but were overruled by the Ministry, who thought that an aircraft which *looked* different would sell better.

Everyone now knows that the VC10 was spectacular gamble and that it is Mr. Amery's bad luck that it did not come off. But if the opposite decisions had been taken on the aircraft's design they would also have been gambles, with no better chance of suc-

cess than those which have collapsed about the government's head.

All of capitalism's investment and production is a gamble, depending for its success upon the caprices of an uncontrollable, unpredictable market. This holds true for a barrow boy buying up a job lot of apples and for a great aircraft firm building a glamorous liner.

The VC10 will not be the last project, heavy with national pride and vested optimism, to crash before it leaves the ground.

## Race riots

In Harlem and in Rochester in the United States, in Singapore and in British Guiana, there are race riots—ugly, bloody affrays in which human beings suddenly descend to frantic animals.

In Germany the trials of the guards of the concentration camps, which were the obscene fruition of racial theories, drag on, revealing their sickening evidence of men at their most degraded.

In South Africa the Nationalist government continues its dour, inflexible policy of apartheid, while riot simmers beneath the thin crust of surface peace. The Australian government refuses permission for a Burgher family from Ceylon to land because they are not "... substantially of European origin," but it does not say exactly what this means.

All over the world, racial strife continues. In many cases it needs only the most trivial of incidents to spark off a storm of violence and counter violence which seems almost to have no end.

Racial theories are a chronic sickness, holding back the progress of the human race to a sane and harmonious social system. Even more, they are based on the absurdest of fallacies, are shot through with inconsistencies and are usually inspired by the most primitive of suspicions.

The interests of working people in all countries are the same. Society's crying need is for the international unity of the working class to abolish capitalism and substitute for it a cooperative world of abundance and freedom.

It is the need for dignity, for progress, for survival. The people of the world can have Socialism if they want it or they can choose, in one way or another, extinction.

## "Young Socialists"

Our recent feature "Labour's Young Lions" has provoked the usual sort of reaction from the Young Socialists.

The June issue of *Young Guard*, their paper, offers the customary sneer about "... the revolutionary virgins in the Socialist Party of Great Britain...", but carefully avoids any attempt at dealing with our criticisms.

The *Socialist Standard* has replied to this, inviting *Young Guard* to send us a reasoned argument, which we will publish with our reply.

But the young lions are silent, and still. So far (mid-August) they have not replied.

The WESTERN  
SOCIALIST

Journal for Socialism

in the

U.S.A and Canada

6d monthly



## 60 YEARS FOR SOCIALISM

### 1904-1964

WHEN our party was formed in June, 1904, the world was, in some ways, vastly different from what it is today.

The British Empire was flourishing as one of the greatest empires the world had so far experienced, and radicals waxed eloquent on topics like "Home Rule for India." This huge land mass was under British rule, and British capitalists were being enriched out of the exploitation of the Indian peasant. "Home Rule for Ireland" was also another favourite topic, plus the women's suffrage question. Africa was split up amongst the Western Powers; Germany, France, Belgium and Britain taking the lion's share, and various measures were adopted to force the natives to be exploited in the mines, diamond fields and rubber plantations. Harrowing stories were told of the brutalities they suffered. Canada and Australia were being settled with a cynical disregard for the interests of the aboriginal inhabitants.

Russian peasants, in the vast ramshackle empire of the Czars, were steeped in almost hopeless misery to produce luxury for the Russian nobility. China was a hotch potch of conflicting war lords and petty peasant culture in which the Western powers were trying to force their trading interests. Japan was on the verge of emerging as a great power, whilst the United States was in a fever of internal industrial expansion that was building up huge fortunes for the Rockefellers, Astors, Carnegies, Morgans and other multi-millionaires.

Cutting across all the sectional interests was the cleavage between workers and capitalists, owners and non-owners of the means of production, and frequent strikes were a common result.

In Germany the adherents of the Social Democratic Party were numbered in hundreds of thousands. In other countries smaller Social Democratic Parties also carried on a great deal of propaganda. In America they had even reached a point where a member of one of the radical parties, Eugene V. Debs, was a candidate for the Presidency and received a large vote.

In Britain there were a variety of radical parties like the Social Democratic Party, the Independent Labour Party, the Fabian Society, Industrial Unionists, Land Reformists and a number of others, all with a variety of reformist proposals. Since those days these parties and groups have either gone out of existence or become moribund.

At the time our party came into existence men whose names figured prominently on the theoretical side of the working class movement were either still alive or not long since dead; men like Engels, Leibnecht, Lafargue, Kautzky, Plechanoff, Labriola, and others. Thus theoretical questions loomed large at meetings, particularly at indoor meetings. The early members of our party, who had broken away from the Social Democratic Party on account of its reformist and political trading attitude, were pioneers; enthusiastic, fanatical and uncompromising. To them the Socialist movement was all that really mattered, and many of them suffered economically for the position they took up.

The world the Party was born into was a much slower world than the world of today. There were no aeroplanes, wireless or huge ocean liners; no world wars, belt systems or

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traffic problems; no petrol buses, electric trains or tube systems; no cinemas, dog racing or jazz; no health or unemployment insurance, and one could travel widely without passports. Horse buses, hansom cabs, bicycles and steam trains were the means of locomotion. Hours of work were long but, in general, not as intense as today. Translations of foreign radical literature were scarce. Printing, premises and halls were relatively cheap. Outdoor meeting places were prolific and a platform could be set up almost anywhere. The outstanding questions of the time were religion, Home Rule, Reforms and the suffragette question—and the abolition of slums!

What vast changes, in some respects, have come over the world since those days. Russia and the United States have become the major capitalist empires, seeking to split the earth between them but threatened by a developing and populous China. India has secured its "freedom" without much advantage to its teeming and poverty stricken millions. The African natives are struggling to free themselves from the older bandits; some have developed independent states that have made little difference to the oppressed; they have simply exchanged exploiters.

All the territories of the world have come under the sway of international capital. Areas that were once undeveloped are rapidly being transformed, and the world is seething in a maelstrom of conflict and confusion such as has never been experienced before. Cutting across all sectional interests is the cleavage between capitalist and worker, owner and non-owner, privileged and unprivileged, dominant and subjected—just as in 1904. Progress has been in the accumulation of wealth for the privileged, frustration and nervous tension for the unprivileged. The class position of the working class has remained the same.

The root of the troubles that afflict the world today is the same as it was in 1904; the ownership of the means of production by one class, the capitalist class, whose members can live without the need to work, and the subjection of the working class, whose members must work in order to live.

Production under capitalism is carried on for the purpose of profit and, just as in the past, sections of the international capitalist class came into conflict over markets, sources of raw materials, routes to these markets and raw materials, and strategic bases for domination. The seeds of war are sown with a prodigal hand. Today even the sky above the earth has become an area for strategic manoeuvres. Nation faces nation full of suspicion, armed with more terrible means of destruction than mankind has ever contrived, and workers are forced into armed forces to slaughter each other.

Myriads of reformers, some with the best of intentions, have sought to relieve some of the worst aspects of social existence. In spite of decades of reformism their efforts have brought no material change. The main evils still flourish. Abolition of slums was on the programmes of the main political parties in 1904—it is still on the programmes of the main political parties today. The reformers failed to attack the source of the trouble, the capitalist ownership of the means of production. Planning against slumps and booms, peace move-

ments, proposals to abolish poverty and slums, all break to pieces against the ramparts of capitalism.

The cynical degradation of labour; the exploitation of workers of all colours and creeds in all parts of the world to enhance the wealth of those in the position of power and privilege, is basic to the present system. What is produced is produced solely for the purpose of profit, regardless of the misery it involves. That is capitalism, and so it will always be while capitalism lasts.

Thus, in spite of the vast superficial changes in the world since 1904, it is still, fundamentally, the same old capitalist world, with its exploitation, misery and frustration for the mass of the population.

GILMAC

## What have we achieved

THERE are probably worse ways of perceiving history than as a continuous process of ironies.

Consider, for example, the history of parliamentary reform in this country. From the first stirrings of agitation for popular suffrage, to the Act which gave woman the vote in 1918, the reformers were bitterly resisted. Brutality, and sometimes death, were part of the battle; the name of Peterloo has its place in working class history and there are still plenty of people alive who endured imprisonment and violence as Suffragettes.

The more intelligent representatives of the ruling class always knew that reform was inevitable. There were certainly some indefensible theories held by the opposition. The young Gladstone, a Tory, when at Oxford in 1831, thought that the Reform Bill would destroy the foundations of the social order not only in this country but also in the rest of the civilised world. In 1866, when Gladstone was on the other side, introducing his own Reform Bill, John Lowe opposed the measure in a speech which described the working class as the last repository of venality, ignorance, drunkenness and violence.

The opponents of female suffrage also held some ideas which are now generally regarded as ludicrous. In *The Unexpurgated Case Against Woman Suffrage* (1913), Sir Almoth E. Wright wrote:—

The woman voter would be pernicious to the State not only because she could not back her vote by physical force, but also by reason of her intellectual defects.

These seemingly quaint notions conceal the suspicion—perhaps the conviction—of the ruling class that universal suffrage would mean the end of their dominance; would mean, in other words, a popular revolution in which the people would take power.

Now the irony in this is that they need not have worried. The murders at Peterloo, the Chartist riots, were all unnecessary. John Lowe was an ass. The people have got the vote now—some of them even use it and others go to the lengths of finding out which parties their candidates represent so that they use the vote as they want to. Yet no political earthquake disturbs the foundations of the Stock Exchange, nor of Buckingham Palace, nor of any of the gracious possessions which are the badges of the master class.

The workers are happy to use the vote to keep capitalism going, which shows how silly were all those 19th Century politicians, who thought that unrestricted voting rights would bring Red Ruin upon them all.

It can even be argued that the popular vote has made capitalism more secure. Most big companies know that if their employees are convinced they have a say in running things—if they have someone to grumble at, if they think they are in the directors' confidence—they are contented employees. They work harder. They are less susceptible to the seduction of what are called agitators.

In the same way, it seems, a working class which has the parliamentary vote is that much less discontented with capitalism. They will suffer its humiliation, its poverty, its wars, provided they can have a say every so often in which party governs them. The workers will absorb any amount of punishment, if only their bruises are occasionally salved by a politician's handshake. It is all rather jolly, in a way—even the politicians sometimes seem to enjoy it.

Within this universal contentment, the voters may in theory change their allegiance between any one of several political parties whose policies are almost indistinguishable. In practice they make things even easier for capitalism by shuffling their support between just the Labour and Conservative Parties.

Why do they change from one to the other? The reasons are rather puzzling. The Labour Party lost a lot of favour in 1950 because they pulled out of Abadan, although the overwhelming majority of the voters had no interests in the oilfields there, and anyway the Tories would almost certainly have got out of Abadan as well. The Conservatives now appear to be losing support not so much for anything they have done (and some of their actions deserved to finish them off for good) but because the British voter thinks that government is like a game of Snakes and Ladders, in which everyone should have a turn.

These changes in support sometimes happen with surprising rapidity. The public opinion polls, for what they are worth, often record almost weekly fluctuations. This is to some extent backed up by the results of local elections, in which councils change their political balance from year to year. It is natural to muse upon what manner of upheaval can be responsible for such vacillations. And it is reasonable to conclude that the working class hold their voting rights, won by so much hardship, in frivolous contempt.

It is against this sombre background that we must assess the progress of the Socialist movement. For we have always refused to join in the razzle-dazzle of the political fairground. We do not lure voters with specious promises of more houses, higher wages, and—to be up to date—better schools, faster roads.

We have always said that programmes like that attract the people who want the houses, wages, schools, roads, but who also want the social and economic conditions which make worthwhile social change well nigh impossible. There is abundant evidence to support this attitude. After a century and more of "reform," capitalism's problems are still here—the slums grow apace, workers still have to fight over wages, schools and roads still need urgent attention.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain has always insisted upon two things. Socialism is the only final solution to the problems of modern society. And Socialism can be established only by a working class who consciously opt for it because they understand it.

This insistence, apart from earning us some nicknames, has doubtless hampered our numerical growth. How many applicants have we turned away because, on examination, we have discovered that they were religious, or wanted to ban the



Bomb, or thought that everyone should have joined up in 1939?

It might make it easier—that is, we might get more support—if our attitude were more flexible; if we campaigned for higher pensions, if we paraded to get someone out of prison or someone else locked up. Easier, perhaps; but futile beyond a doubt.

In any case, there are enough organisations in that game already. Our big achievement, in political terms, is that we have kept out of it. We have kept the only worthwhile issue clear: Socialism versus Capitalism. Our opponents have sneered at us. We have been dubbed the Small Party of Good Boys; a recent issue of *Young Guard*, the Young Socialists' paper, referred to us as "revolutionary virgins."

Well, alright; let's agree. While those who sneer at us have prostituted themselves in countless ways, we have kept our political honour. We have not urged workers out to slaughter each other on battlefields. We have not broken strikes, nor planned the production of nuclear weapons. We still want now what we wanted when we were formed in 1904—Socialism, simple and, yes, pure.

This consistency has borne fruit in our analysis of capitalism. We have seen many upheavals in our time—two World Wars, the Russian Revolution, the General Strike, the rise of Fascism, the downfall of the mighty British Empire. Look back on what we said about these events. Our analysis has not faltered and in every basic requirement has been proved correct.

This is not to say that we have not made mistakes. In minor detail we misjudged events in Russia; we did not dream of what the Nazis did to the Jews; as can be seen from our reproduction of the front page of the first *Socialist Standard*, we started off with our optimism too high, thinking Socialism nearer than it was.

Such mistakes are inevitable. Our proud achievement is in the basic accuracy of our case, which has kept the road to Socialism open while the others have been stuck in their various dead ends. This is worth more than anything the other parties have; it is worth more than the millions who vote Conservative because their father does, and the other millions who vote Labour because of Mr. Wilson's Gannex raincoat.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain is rich in its membership—men and women who are politically mature and who have worked long and hard to establish and to nurture the Socialist movement. They have kept our propaganda constant amid some desperate ups and downs. It is thanks to them that we celebrate our sixtieth anniversary.

Their reward is the satisfaction of working for a world of plenty, freedom and dignity. Men climb a mountain because it is there. People work for Socialism because it is right.

IVAN.

## Negative and positive

Capitalism idolises the hero, but a better world would be one fit for cowards to live in.

We reject Capitalism. We reject its inhumanities, its inadequacies, its values. We know that human beings are capable of something better than a society in which millions of people suffer varying degrees of poverty and outright destitution, a society which periodically divides itself into armed camps

which proceed to smash the life out of each other.

Socialism is a reaction against capitalism and because of this it is often described in what may seem negative terms. It is often described as a world of withouts—without money, without national barriers, without social classes, and so on. Yet each of these negatives is in fact a positive, active element of the future Socialist world.

Let us illustrate this point with two examples.

Socialism will be a world without money. This is so because money is essential to Capitalism; in what we are pleased to call advanced society, it is a convenient method of exchanging wealth. Nobody escapes this. Everyone who works for a living exchanges his labour power for the things he needs to live, and this exchange is carried out by money, in the form of wages.

Money is essential to Capitalism because all wealth, in one way or another, is produced for exchange, or sale. This is an inevitable development from the basis of Capitalism, which is the class ownership of the materials and apparatus which are needed to produce wealth.

But money is one of Capitalism's symbols of restriction. Most of us never seem to get enough of it; even if we earn a bit more—if, say, we get a rise in wages—we usually find that this is wholly or partly wiped out by a price rise. Money is convenient for Capitalism but for most people it is anything but a good idea.

The end of money, then, also means an end to the restrictions which money entails.

This will not leave an economic vacuum, with no method of circulating goods. Socialism will replace money with a system of free distribution. This will spring from the basis of Socialism just as money does from the basis of Capitalism.

Socialism will be based upon the universal ownership of all the things which go to produce and distribute wealth. One of the consequences of this will be production for use and free access which all human beings will have to whatever is produced.

No more massive effort will probably be needed for this than is needed to turn out Capitalism's wealth today. The administration of it will be largely a statistical exercise of finding out where each sort of wealth can best be produced and where it is needed, and arranging production and transport.

There will probably be points of distribution, specially designed to hold and to pass out particular types of goods; bread, for example, will need different facilities from clothing. From these distribution centres people will simply help themselves.

Nobody will go along with a pocketful of metal discs or paper notes. Nobody will have to sign any cheques or surrender any coupons. Because human beings need certain things, they will make them and distribute them. Society will devote its knowledge and energy to the task of satisfying its own needs.

The restrictions and poverty of capitalism, negated by Socialism's basis, will be replaced by the positives of free availability of goods.

It is evidently impossible to go into this in minute detail, because these details will be largely determined by the conditions which prevail when Socialism is established. We do not know what these conditions will be, any more than the founders of the Socialist Party of Great Britain knew in 1904 that, when we celebrated our sixtieth anniversary, we would discuss production and distribution in terms of nuclear energy and jet aircraft.

But man, as they said in you-know-where, does not live by bread alone. He has senses other than the purely physical which, if he is to be a whole man, need to be satisfied. We take the point. How are these senses satisfied today?

Have you ever seen what they do to a landscape when they set down a line of pylons across it? Or what happens to a green valley and its river when it becomes industrialised? Or how a wild coastline is changed by the shapes of a nuclear power station?

More and more, the peace and the aesthetic refuges of life are being destroyed. Fast roads slash open green hills. Monotonous towns sprawl out farther and farther, poking their uninspired designs into what once were tranquil woodlands. Noise gets louder, fumes get denser, the pace of what we call living gets faster.

And why does this happen?

The reason for putting power lines on pylons instead of under the ground is that the cost of buying them is at present anything up to seventeen times as high as slinging them across the air. The Central Electricity Generating Board say that they regret the destruction of a landscape—they have issued many advertisements assuring us that they do as little visual damage as possible. But they make no bones about the reason for the pylons.

The Board are interested in making a profit from the supply of electricity and they are in a pretty tough market. They cannot be expected voluntarily to take on the enormous increase in costs which would result from burying power lines.

They are not the only body which, faced with the choice of incurring extra production costs or destroying something beautiful will choose, with a sigh and a regretful mutter about the economics of the thing, to destroy. The profit motive of Capitalism, with its drive for cheaper production, is responsible for the ugliness which touches everything with its stifling hand.

Professor Buchanan has suggested how, even within the limitations imposed upon him, some of our living amenities could be saved from complete extinction by the motor car. If Buchanan's schemes cost a few thousand pounds they might stand a chance. But they are likely to cost hundreds of millions. Capitalism can spend that sum of money on nuclear weapons or on guided missiles, but schemes for human comfort are a different matter. . . .

Socialism will not only stop the march of ugliness. It will preserve and beautify. Ancient, mellow beauty, in landscape or building, will be preserved. Centres of living will not be the ugly, industrialised sores that they are at present.

Architects and townplanners will be free from the economic restrictions which hogtie them today. With only one standard—human comfort and welfare—to conform to, their knowledge and talents will find their highest expression. The possibilities are exciting, and limitless.

An idea of what this will mean in detail can be gained by imagining the sort of house we would live in, if we had a free hand in its design and setting. Then we can expand this image into a town, a country, the world. We shall be near to imagining what Socialism will be like.

Socialism will be man's culmination to his search for control over his environment. It will negative each aspect of Capitalism with its own positive. It will replace poverty with abundance, fear with security, repression with freedom, strife with brotherhood.

Capitalism is abundant in the hypocrisy of its platitudes. Socialism, by turning society upside down, will destroy the hypocrisy and turn the platitudes into reality. Perhaps that

might be called a world built by heroes for cowards to live in. By any standards, it will be a wonderful place for human beings.

IVAN.

## Labour theory of value

Emotional platitudes are not enough.

Nobody in their senses likes the effects of capitalism—nobody enjoys war or poverty or suppression. But what to do about them? Up to the present these problems have provoked, in the main, apathetic grumbling on one hand or emotional idealism on the other. Both are ineffective.

The sterility of simple discontent is obvious.

On the other hand, the articulate opposition to war is often the pacifist, to poverty the philanthropist, to suppression the libertarian. These people may be very sincere. But because they treat their problems in isolation, because they regard the problems in terms of idealistic defects in society, they are doomed to failure.

We stand on different ground. What really counts is understanding the effects of capitalism, linking those effects to their cause and explaining this whole process in consistent materialist terms. It is the badge of the Socialist that he does this in a scientific manner.

For the convenience of this article the case for Socialism may be divided into three parts. In the beginning is the Materialist Conception of History, which examines man's social development and relates it to his power of wealth production. In this perspective, history is the process of struggle between classes for social and economic dominance.

In the end is the recognition of the class struggle under the present capitalist social system. Modern society is divided into workers and capitalists, who are in dispute over the division of wealth. When the subject working class take conscious political action to overthrow the capitalists' dominance, society will evolve into its next and higher stage—Socialism.

These two ends are linked by the Marxist analysis of capitalism. This analysis probes to the economic root of the system, uncovers the course of capitalism's sustenance and expands into its outermost branches. The basis of Marx's examination of capitalism is the Labour Theory of Value.

In words which fall like the strokes of a bell, Karl Marx opened his great work *Capital* with the statement:

The wealth of those societies in which the capitalist mode of production prevails, presents itself as "an immense accumulation of commodities" . . . .

What, then, is a commodity? It is not simply something which has physical properties. It is also something which has social properties, something which exists and operates under certain social conditions. Commodities in the mass are peculiar to capitalism and therefore typify that social system.

To understand capitalism, then, we must understand the commodity. To do this we must first isolate the commodity from its social sophistication, so that it can be seen in its pure form. Only when we have thus examined it can we introduce the complications of its real existence.

A commodity is an article—a loaf of bread, a pair of shoes, or a service—a haircut, technical knowledge, which has use value. That is, it is useful to human beings, because it satisfies some need or some fancy. A commodity must be able



to be constantly reproduced in social production, as are the goods which come out of modern factories. It is produced, not for the individual consumption of the person who worked on it, but for sale on a market at a profit.

Selling a commodity is in fact exchanging it for another, with money intervening as a convenient method of carrying through the exchange. When commodities exchange they do so in a certain regulated proportion. If at a certain time a ton of coal may exchange for half a hundred weight of tea, something must explain why the coal does not equal more or less tea. What is it that regulates the proportion in which commodities exchange with each other?

The only way in which commodities can be compared is through something which they have in common. This means that a commodity's physical properties, which are obviously dissimilar from that of other commodities, must be disregarded. Coal has nothing physically in common with tea, or butter, or any of the other things with which it exchanges.

There is only one thing which all commodities have in common. They are all produced by the application of human labour to some available material. Human labour, then, is the common property of all commodities and this, measured in time, is what must determine the proportion in which commodities exchange with each other.

But the labour time taken up in producing a commodity varies with the occasion and the condition of its production. With coal, for instance, it varies with the abundance of the seam which is being worked and with the degree of mechanisation involved. Thus the exchange value of a commodity is fixed by the amount of labour time which is socially necessary to produce it, under average conditions and intensity of work, at the time and place at which it is wanted.

This value regulates the rate at which commodities exchange with each other. It fixes the line above and below which a commodity's price, under the pressures of market forces, may vary.

This conclusion applies to the commodity which we are all born with, but which emerges as a commodity only under the necessary social conditions—labour power. When our employers engage us, they are buying our labour power at the price of our wage. This wage, just like any other price, can fluctuate. But the fluctuations are regulated to the value of the labour power.

Now what is the value of labour power? It is the amount of socially necessary labour involved in producing it—the labour in the houses, clothes, food, entertainments, and so forth, which contribute to the re-energising and reproduction of our ability to work. This value can be varied by a number of influences—among them the workers' struggles in their Trade Unions.

So far so good. But if all commodities, including labour power, exchange generally at their value, how does profit arise? The answer to this question is found in the peculiar nature of labour power.

Employment is the process of synthesising part of the value of a number of commodities—of raw materials, of machines, of part finished products, and so on. At the end of this process the finished product has a value greater than that of all the commodities embodied in it. It is labour power which, in the acts of its application, has done this—it has created value.

This is how it comes about that a capitalist buys his materials, his buildings, his machines and the workers' labour power, all, on average, at their value. When these are all joined by human labour the result is a commodity of a value

greater than the sum of all the commodities originally put into it.

It is from this surplus value, from the exploitation of human labour, that the capitalist gets his profit out of which he pays dividends, rent, interest on loans, taxes for the upkeep of the State, and so on.

This exploitation is the mainspring of capitalism; by understanding it we also understand the mechanisms of the system. We understand why capitalism works as it does, why it produces the problems that it does and why it must end as it will.

It is this understanding which lifts the Socialist above the well-meant platitudes of the idealist. It is what makes a Socialist party a distinctive organisation, marked by its exclusive ability to understand capitalism and to work for the next and higher stage in mankind's social advance.

IVAN.

## Trade Unions in 60 years

WHEN the present Declaration of Principles of the Socialist Party of Great Britain was drawn up at the Party's formation in June, 1904, it was not considered necessary to include reference to trade unions: Socialist principles had been agreed, their application to some specific issues remained to be worked out. Meetings were called to discuss the trade unions, and the results of those discussions came up for resolution at the first annual conference in April, 1905. But in the first issue of the *Socialist Standard*, in September, 1904, the broad lines of the Party's attitude were set out immediately following a description of the exploitation of the working class:—

So long as this lasts—and it will last as long as the capitalist system of society—it will not be possible for the workers of any trades union organisation to more than slightly modify their condition, and their power in this direction is becoming every day more limited by the combinations among employers to defeat the aims of the working class.

Then, too, the magnitude of industrial operations, ever tending to increase by the inherent tendency under free competition of the large producer to crush out his smaller trade rivals—the joint-stock company takes the place of the large individual capitalist, the trust the place of the joint-stock company. The worker is thus brought face to face with an ever greater foe.

At the 1905 Conference there were two main points of view. The first would have committed the Party not to recommend its members to join any union unless the union was organised on definite Socialist lines and it envisaged the future formation of Socialist trade unions. This was defeated and Conference adopted a resolution which called on Party members in trade unions to oppose all action not based on the principles held by the Socialist Party of Great Britain. In a supporting speech J. Fitzgerald said:—

Craft divisions would have to be broken down, skilled and unskilled, brain and manual workers, have to join hands. The tendency of economic evolution should be pointed out, and the changes rendered necessary in the economic organisation. That was sixty years ago. What has changed in the trade

unions in that time? In external some of the changes have been remarkable. Membership has grown from under two million to nearly ten million, and Trades Union Congress membership from 1,200,000 to 8,300,000; but more than half the workers are still outside trade unions. There was at that time only one union, the South Wales Miners with a little over 100,000 members; now there are eighteen, and the largest,

the Transport and General Workers Union, has 1,330,000.

Responding to the growth and centralisation of capital the number of unions has declined by amalgamation from 1,211 to 623. Half of all trade union membership is now in the eight unions with above 250,000 members, and the 18 unions with over 100,000 members make up four-fifths of the total. Parallel with current negotiations to unite the three big organisations of employers, active discussions for more trade union amalgamations are under way.

Some of the changes in size of unions have followed the growth or decline of industry; the expansion of engineering and allied trades and the decline of cotton; but trade unionism has made its way or expanded enormously in fields from which it was once wholly or largely absent. Central and local government accounts for well over a million members, insurance, banking and finance two hundred thousand, and education over four hundred thousand.

The number of strikes each year has increased greatly (355 in 1904, which was typical of the period, compared with 2,067 in 1963), and far more workers are directly or indirectly involved, but the total number of days lost through strikes has grown little, the reason being that long strikes by large numbers of workers are now comparatively rare. Exceptional in recent years was 1962, when engineering strikes pushed the total number of days lost up to 5,798,000.

More disputes are now settled without the threat of strike becoming an actuality—due largely no doubt to the low levels of unemployment for most of the time in recent years. The year 1904 came at the end of an eight-year period in which prices were rising—a total rise of about twelve per cent.—but unemployment was also high by comparison with the present levels. In 1904 it was 6 per cent. The consequence was that in those eight years wages rose by only half as much as prices. In recent years, with periods in which unfilled vacancies have exceeded registered unemployed, wage rates have gone ahead of the retail price index.

The position of the T.U.C. in the trade union movement has not changed much, unlike some other countries in which the central body directly conducts wage negotiations. Attempts to increase the powers of the T.U.C. have been going on for half a century but so far with not much result.

Legally it would have been said a few years ago that the position of the trade unions was firmly established, but recent court decisions have shaken this confidence and opened the threat that the unions will be back to the uncertainties that were their concern early in the century.

Some events of the past sixty years have left their mark on the unions. The defeat of the General Strike in 1926 and of other big strikes in the years after the first world war have undoubtedly induced a more cautious view of the usefulness of mass, prolonged strikes.

In 1904 there had not yet been a Labour Government—the T.U.C. in 1904 sent a message of congratulation to the Australians on their having made history by a Labour Government which lasted only a few weeks. It cannot be said that trade unions in the mass have abandoned faith in Labour Government and turned their hopes to Socialism, but certainly there is less belief now in the merits of nationalisation or state capitalism than in 1904. The very large proportion of strikes that occur in nationalised industries has had its effect on misguided enthusiasm.

A glance at the 1904 T.U.C. is of interest. Proceedings began, as today, with a formal welcome from the local Mayor, but delegates now are spared the burden of a special service at which a parson delivered a long sermon. The 1904 Con-

gress heard fierce denunciations of Britain's little wars, in Tibet and Somaliland, but also passed a resolution protesting about the Government's action in allowing "cheap Chinese labour" into South Africa.

One note from the 1904 T.U.C. is right up to date in this year when Postmen, for the first time since 1890, have come out on strike claiming, among other things, that the Government have ignored the Report of a Committee set up to consider Postmen's pay.

The T.U.C. in 1904 passed a resolution protesting against the action of the Tory Government which, after setting up a committee to consider the pay of Postmen and other Post Office Workers, refused to concede in full the pay increases it recommended on the ground that the Committee had failed to carry out its instructions, which was to fix Post Office pay by comparison with pay in outside occupations.

H.

## To sum up

OUR aim is *World Socialism*, a system based on the common ownership and democratic control of the means of life by and for the whole community. Under Socialism production will be for use and distribution direct.

The working class must establish Socialism itself. This cannot be done for them. Thus we reject Leadership. Self-styled leaders cannot lead the workers to Socialism, but they can, and do, lead a cosy life on the backs of the working class. We also reject the view that Socialism can be legislated into being by a majority of MP's over a passive and non-Socialist working class. We do, however, believe that the way to Socialism lies through revolutionary political action. Before Socialism can be established the working class must gain control of the machinery of government. Then, being also organised economically for Socialism, they can use it to effect the change from Capitalism to Socialism.

We hold that only a consciously Socialist working class can establish Socialism. Thus we place extreme importance on Socialist understanding. Our primary task is to help to bring about such understanding and we believe the way to do this is to campaign for Socialism and Socialism alone. Otherwise we would get the support of those who merely want a reformed capitalism and eventually cease to be a Socialist party. Thus we have no reform programme. This does not mean that we are opposed to all reforms. We are not. But we are against a reformist policy. A Socialist programme can contain only one demand: Socialism.

There is no Socialism in Russia. In our view the Russian revolutions of 1917 cleared away feudalism and allowed capitalism to develop there. The Bolsheviks were the agents of capitalism in Russia and the system they have built up can be described as State capitalism.

We accept, and act on, the doctrine of the Class Struggle between the capitalist class and the working class and we are therefore opposed to all other political parties whether they claim to be Socialist or not. In our view the Labour Party is a capitalist reform party. Its policy of piecemeal reforms cannot lead to Socialism. When in power, Labour parties have always acted as faithful caretakers for capitalism and against the interests of the working class. The Communist Party is also a reform party. It differs from the Labour Party in that it always put the interests of Russian State capi-



talism, and not those of British capitalism, before those of the working class.

Under capitalism trade unions are necessary and inevitable. We are not against trade unionism when it is used to improve workers' wages and conditions, but we say that trade unionism has its limits and cannot be used to overthrow capitalism.

Before Socialism can be established there are a number of illusions which must be dispelled. Among these is religion. Socialists are opposed to religion as it stultifies thought and encourages inaction by promising a better life beyond the skies. Religion acts as a delusory escape from the misery of capitalism and is thus a buttress of this system. Nationalism, too, is an illusion which help to maintain capitalism. It obscures the class struggle and leads the workers into actions which are altogether against their interests. A Socialist working class can have no use for nationalism. The most pernicious of these illusions is perhaps racialism. Scientific evidence shows that all race theories are so much nonsense. The colour of the

skin has no connection with intelligence. No group of people sharing particular characteristics is inherently inferior to any other. The interests of all the workers of the world are one; they should not be led by the delusions of religion, nationalism and racialism to think otherwise.

Modern war is the product of the capitalist system. So are the horrifying methods of prosecuting it, including nuclear weapons. We have opposed, and are opposed, to the shredding of a single drop of working class blood in capitalism's wars. Nor do we back the so-called colonial revolution. It is our view, and experience confirms this, that these anti-colonialist revolutions are mere changes of rulers. They are revolutions which lead to the introduction of capitalist or State capitalist regimes which prove to be cruel taskmasters to the workers of the territories concerned.

Our position can be summarised as: No Socialism without Socialists.

A. L. B.

## Two stalwarts

WE are a party without a personality cult, nor with any possibility of ever developing one. It is not a rule, written or unwritten, but a logical extension of our Socialist principles, which makes us frown upon any elaboration of our members as individuals.

Dead comrades are treated less inflexibly; an obituary note in the *Socialist Standard*, perhaps on special occasions a remembrance of those who were outstanding by their labours for Socialism.

The rest is effacement.

But as the sixtieth anniversary of our journal is so very special an event, perhaps we may be allowed to bend our customs, just a little. And there is no one for whom it is more apt to do this than the two men who for so long were inseparable from this paper.

We mean—who else?—Comrades Hardy and McClatchie.

Regular readers will know them well enough through their articles, Hardy's over the signature H. and McClatchie over Gilmac. Perhaps not so well known is the work which they once did behind the scenes—the painstaking editing, the advice to contributors, the enthusiasm which carried them through decades of service on the old Editorial Committee.

Hardy and Gilmac saw the *Socialist Standard* through some perilous times. They made their own imprint on the journal's history and its survival is something of a monument to them. They finally left the Editorial Committee in 1959; somebody asked them how long they had served—was it twenty, thirty,

forty years? Neither of them could remember.

Both are still outstanding for their energy. Gilmac, now our Head Office assistant, busies himself with a multitude of invaluable jobs. Hardy still drives himself, still seems to cram three times as much into a day as anybody else. Always close friends, they are also great walkers; only a few years back they left a man half their age purple faced on one of their strolls over the Seven Sisters. And if, on a Sunday morning in summer, you care to mingle with the hot and irritable trippers at Waterloo or Victoria, you may still come across Hardy, rucksack on his back, knocking off a Crossword while he waits for the next train to the Downs.

The present Committee knew that the knowledge and experience of these two comrades would be invaluable in the preparation of this month's *Socialist Standard*. Gilmac and Hardy did not hesitate when we asked them to come back on the committee for two or three months. Their contributions to this issue speak for themselves. We also owe them a debt for their other help and for their advice.

Yet even more than that we say thank you for their tireless work over the years. They must have met much bitterness and disappointment, but in dark days and bright they did not spare themselves in making sure that there would be a *Socialist Standard* for the present committee to inherit, and to stand up proudly to celebrate its sixtieth birthday.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE, September 1964

## August 4th, 1914

At midnight on August 4th, 1914, the British ultimatum to Germany expired and the First Great War began.

In our Party there were no illusions about the nature of the war, in spite of the turmoil of the times and the perfidious attitude of other alleged working class parties.

At our first Executive Committee meeting, following the outbreak of the war, arrangements were made to prepare a Manifesto setting forth our opposition and stating the Socialist attitude. At the next Executive Committee meeting a draft was presented and, after approval, sent to the printer to appear in the next, the September issue of the *Socialist Standard*. This was our War Manifesto. It was later reprinted and distributed in leaflet form.

This Manifesto briefly set forth the capitalist basis of society, pointing out that the war was a capitalist war which was no concern of the workers, and did not justify the shedding of working class blood in a conflict which only involved the interests of their masters. It concluded with the following paragraph:—

Having no quarrel with the working class of any country, we extend to our fellow workers of all lands the expression of our goodwill and Socialist fraternity, and pledge ourselves to work for the overthrow of capitalism and the triumph of Socialism.

The Party kept its pledge. Its attitude was maintained, from the beginning to the end of the war, without equivocation, in spite of antagonism, persecution and numerous other obstacles. GILMAC.

## Members in the Great War

WHEN conscription came into operation during the 1914-1918 war, members knew that they stood no chance of being exempted from military service on conscientious grounds. Nevertheless, some went before the tribunals whilst others went on their travels.

Adolph Kohn went to America and landed into trouble there when America came into the war. He took part in the formation of our companion party over there and continued to send articles to the *Socialist Standard*. One of his articles was opened by the American authorities and they tried to trace him. As soon as he discovered they were looking for him, though he did not know why, he adopted various expedients to keep under cover. One of these was taking a job as a civilian auditor in a military camp. However, he succeeded in remaining free until the end of the war. At the behest of the American authorities the police over here made enquiries. In the course of their enquiries they interviewed Fitzgerald, whom they kept in prison for a night. On him they found an address book containing the name of Kohn's sister, Hilda. They also interviewed her without success. They did not even find out that she was a member of the Party, although she was the General Secretary at that time, and also at the time when Head Office was raided by the police.

Harry Russ had decided to sleep out in the open and keep away from towns. He moved about the country, wet and dry, and after some months reached the neighbourhood of Sheffield. He saw some placards advertising a meeting to be addressed by Ramsay MacDonald. Craving for company he resolved to risk attending just this one meeting. He did so. The meeting was raided and he was arrested, along with others, as an absentee from military service. He refused to be conscripted on the ground that, as a Socialist, he was opposed to the war. He was stripped of his clothes and presented with a uniform but refused to put it on. Various manoeuvres were tried to get him to sign his name, but he refused to sign anything. He was then transferred to Parkhurst prison on the Isle of Wight. Whilst he was there, one of the buildings was occupied by soldiers who were going back to the front after their leave. One evening a warder who was taking him across the compound pushed him in with the remark, "here you are boys, here's a bloody conchie." He was knocked about and was so furious when he got out that he determined to complain to the warden.

He crossed to the gate, which was open, went into the road and, finding it deserted, suddenly decided to walk off. He had the name of a sympathiser on the island who hid him and then provided him with money to get across to Portsmouth and then to London. On the platform at Portsmouth late that night he heard someone calling him. He turned round and found it was an army officer. He thought "this is it," but all the officer wanted to know was if the train in the station was bound for London! When Russ arrived in London he lodged with other members, also "on the run," who pretended to be employed on jobs essential to the war. He succeeded in remaining free until the war ended.

E. Hardy ("H" of the *Socialist Standard*) was working as a farm pupil when he was called up. He was offered exemption on the ground that he was engaged in the essential service of farming. He refused to accept this on the ground that it would have meant some other worker being called up. He went before the tribunal and was turned down, as he expected. After some months in an army guardroom and a court martial he was put in Wormwood Scrubbs prison, where he remained for six months. Whilst in there he learnt from the "old lags" the mystery of dealing with the burden of the bugs that came out and attacked him when he lay down on his plank bed. The method was to use his soap to fill in as many cracks in the planks as he could find. Incidentally he was glad that he had learnt poetry as he was able to while away solitary hours by repeating poetry to himself. In the Scrubbs there were other S.P.G.B.'ers, and lively discussion went on under the tolerant eye of a sympathetic warder.

At one time in an army guardroom there were two other S.P.G.B.'ers, and one of them named Brooks, organised a class on Marxian economics among the military prisoners, more than a dozen who listened attentively. It went on for many nights until it came to the notice of the authorities and they separated Brooks, Hardy and the other member from the rest of the prisoners. Eventually Hardy was transferred to a Conscientious Objectors party working on construction in Wales. The first night in camp he climbed into the top hammock. There was an argument going on between two of the inmates. He intervened. Immediately a head popped out below him and a voice exploded "Well, gorbliney, we got rid of old Banks this morning and now we have another S.P.G.B'er." It

appeared that Jimmy Banks had also been transferred there before Hardy and used to hold forth on the Party's position.

One morning, while Hardy was there, the foreman on the job complained about the appearance of one of the C.O.'s who used to turn up for work in a pair of dirty old trousers, supported by a string, a pair of old boots, a ragged shirt with no collar, and a dilapidated coat. The foreman appealed to the chap to dress a bit better. The next morning this man turned up in a clean shirt, collar and tie, a nice coat, hat and walking stick, but he still wore the trousers tied up with string and the dilapidated boots.

Mick Cullen was a member of Birmingham Branch. When he was turned down by the tribunal he got half a column write-up in the *Daily Mail* headed "A class fighter, not a conscientious objector." Cullen was handed over to the military who put him in a house with other prisoners for the night. He climbed through the window, caught a train to Holyhead and then the night boat to Dublin. At that time Irishmen who were prepared to work in England during the war, to make up for the shortage of manpower, were provided with a green ticket exempting them from military service. The morning Cullen arrived in Dublin he applied for a green ticket, received it and took the boat back to England the same night. As he did not care to risk going back near Birmingham he took a train up the North East Coast. After he had travelled some way up the coast a man who was sitting opposite him in the compartment suddenly leaned forward and demanded to see his exemption papers. Cullen asked him what the hell he was talking about and who the hell he was, anyway. Then the man produced his warrant card showing that he was a police inspector. Cullen then went into action. "Oho," said he, exploding with wrath, "You're just the man I want to meet. I was told in Dublin that there were plenty of jobs over here but I have been traipsing around unable to get one." And so he went on, going for the inspector in a fury. At last the exasperated inspector assured Cullen that he had been just unlucky; that there were plenty of jobs. He gave Cullen his card with the address of a factory in Newcastle and told him to present the card and he would be assured of a job. At the next station the inspector hurriedly got out, obviously glad to escape the ravings of Cullen. However, finally the authorities caught up with Cullen again and he had to make his way back to Ire-



land and remain there for the rest of the war.

There was a group of members imprisoned in Dartmoor and others in Scotland in C.O. camps where they distributed Party literature.

The present writer also went to Ireland. I packed a kit-bag with so many books that I had no room for my clothes. On that account I had to cycle from Cork around the South and East coast to Belfast wearing two suits, a heavy overcoat, and a heavy kit-bag fastened to my back. I crossed over with a member who was a music hall juggler and was appearing for a week in Cork. I was supposed to be his assistant and he got me through.

In Belfast, being somewhat unsophisti-

cated, I tried to sell art postcards in the streets. I had to give up deciding, by results, that the Irish were not an art-loving nation. I then got a job with a dentist as a canvasser but later the dentist took me in to teach me dentistry. Finally he arranged for me to "walk the hospitals" so that I could qualify. Fearing this would reveal the fact that I was technically a deserter from the army, I told him I was not fitted for the profession and gave up the job. This was not much of a financial loss because, in order to get the job, I had pretended I had private means and the doctor had ordered me to take an open air job on account of my health. In fact I was half starved.

I then followed a number of occupations, including selling cattle, horse and

sheep medicine, dock labouring, working in a saw mill and driving a Foden steam wagon. Part of the time a friendly tailor let me sleep in his shop on the sewing board. Finally I got a job cutting timber in the mountains for a lumber company. This lasted me until the war ended, when I returned to London.

These are just a few rambling notes about what happened to a few members of the Party during the 1914-1918 war. Many other members could tell similar stories. Some went to different parts of the world and either remained there or only returned after the passage of a long time. As a result it was a sadly battered and reduced Party that gathered together after the war to continue the struggle.

GILMAC.

## The "Standard" in America

It was in the year 1909 that I joined the old Socialist Party of Canada, in Vancouver, B.C. All I knew of the philosophy of Socialism at that time was restricted to the fact that I was a wage slave, disillusioned by my contacts with capitalism, and firmly convinced, by listening to lectures and reading Socialist papers and pamphlets, that Socialism was the only solution for working class problems. This was enough to go on at the start.

At our headquarters, which were open day and night, and at our propaganda meetings, which were held regularly inside and out, there were two papers which were always sold and read. These two were the *Western Clarion* and the *Socialist Standard*.

It is natural that in a Party that had adopted it as the official organ, the *Clarion* would be regarded as the more important. Its distribution was advocated by the Dominion Executive Committee, and faithfully carried out by the general membership.

In our study classes we closely examined the material in both papers, and some of us became aware of the fact that, while the main objective was similar, there were differences of a serious and material kind. In the platform of the S.P. of C. was the paragraph: "The irrepressible conflict of interests between the capitalist and the worker is rapidly culminating in a struggle for possession of the reins of government—the capitalist to hold, the worker to secure it by political action. This is the class struggle."

Our reading of the *Socialist Standard* led us to conclude that this definition of the class struggle was not correct. That the struggle also included the workers who were selling labour power in exchange for wages. Some of the pioneer members even went so far as to contend that there was a commodity struggle as well as a class struggle.

But the *Socialist Standard* explanation was accepted by the younger members as correct.

Again, in the S.P. of C. platform was a declaration of what the Socialist Party would do concerning legislation when in office. This, with the aid of the *Standard*, we fought so strongly that it was later deleted from the platform.

Here in the United States, the *Socialist Standard* has always been distributed as widely as possible by the World Socialist Party, and the members continuously advised to read and study the contents. The results have been reasonably satisfactory. It has furnished us with a picture, on a broader canvas, of which the Socialist movement means on the international scene, and the mode of activity in which it is carried on.

Even more important, perhaps, is the stabilizing influence it exerts on the members, particularly on the new recruits who have had no experience, or the wrong kind of experience, before making application for membership in the Party. Our problem with the inclusion of new members is greater than that in Britain, due to the large area in which we operate. In Britain it is feasible to invite the applicant to headquarters, or to send a committee from the branch to his home, to examine his past political connections, his present attitude, and his qualifications for becoming a member.

Here, due to the distances between the applicant and the National Administrative Committee Headquarters or the local, the contact with workers who show a desire to join us has to be made mainly through the medium of the mail. A set of relevant questions are sent. He ponders their significance, makes inquiries as to what such and such a query means, a further explanation is given, so that in the end we have just about told him how to answer the questions

in order to be eligible to become a member.

It is in such cases that the value of papers like the *Socialist Standard* and the *Western Socialist* can be seen. There are articles in each from time to time dealing with every phase of socialist philosophy. In these the applicant can see beyond the matters touched upon in the questionnaire, and they open up a new intellectual area that provides the opportunity for more and deeper research.

In recent correspondence with a young man interested in our work, and anxious to know more about it, I was asked about the import of the Negro movement towards attaining what they consider to be their "civil rights." He stated that he thought the Negroes' desire to acquire the franchise should entitle them to our support, as their membership was largely made up of working men and women.

In addition to my own endeavour to negate his theory, pointing out that the great majority of the members in all parties and movements belonged to the working class, and that this fact in itself was not sufficient to warrant our participation in their efforts, I happily dug up a copy of the *Socialist Standard*, published back in the days when the Pankhurst family were engaged in smashing windows, and going on hunger strikes in their demands that votes be given to women.

The writer of this article, in clear and simple terms, analysed the suffragette movement. He explained the capitalist character of the movement, its lack of recognition or understanding of present society and the social forces tending to its abolition, and ended up with the affirmation that our movement would not be interested in supporting any part of it. I sent this copy to my correspondent. The next time I heard from him he conceded that he had overlooked the real points of the issue, and that the *Socialist Standard* had set him straight. MACD.

## Election activities

It is a tribute to the strength and determination of the tiny band of founder members that in 1906, only two short years after the formation of the Party, Socialist candidates contested wards in Battersea and Wandsworth Borough Council Elections. A total of twelve candidates were put forward—nine in Battersea and three in Wandsworth—and although the votes cast for us were small (Craske and Moody topped our list with 117 each), it was an encouraging start to the electoral activities ranging over the whole of our existence. Particularly is this true when one considers the circumstances then, as outlined in the December, 1906, *Socialist Standard*:—

All the candidates fought on the election manifesto published in our October issue, a few were distributed in each ward. They had no programme of ear-tickling, side tracking, vote-catching "palliatives" and did no canvassing. The candidates were practically unknown and had not climbed into popularity on the backs of the working class, by posing as "leaders" of unemployed deputations, "right to live" councils and similar confusionist conglomerations.

Incidentally, it was following the Battersea elections that the Executive Committee ruled that only Party Members should sign our candidates' nomination papers, and this was embodied in a Party Rule which stands to this day.

1908 saw the Burnley branch fighting Gammon and Whittlefield wards. Although the two comrades polled only fifteen votes between them, the Party was by no means discouraged by the results, because around the same time, three candidates polled sixty, fifty-eight and fifty-six votes in one ward at Tooting.

Parliamentary contests were still a long way off for the Party, but, nevertheless, 50,000 manifestoes were distributed during the 1910 General Election. As always, we posed the straight choice of Capitalism or Socialism and exposed the anti-working class policies of the other parties. In the same year, Tottenham Branch was busy, with Comrade Stern fighting High Cross Ward, and Anderson and Rourke in St. Ann's Ward of the local Urban Council elections. The voting was: Anderson 143, Rourke 67, Stern 63. They were the last S.P.G.B. candidates to contest municipal elections for many years.

By 1928, our organisation had recovered sufficiently from the war to think once again about putting forward Socialist candidates, and in February of that year a meeting of members declared overwhelmingly in favour of entering the Parliamentary lists. But national elec-

tions are much more expensive to contest than local ones and with only £21 1s. 2d. in the kitty, a proposal to fight North Battersea in 1929 had to be abandoned. Despite this, however, Battersea branch ran a very successful challenge meeting which the Tory and Liberal candidates attended. There was an audience of about nine hundred, so this first gesture of ours in the Parliamentary field was not entirely a disappointment.

One of the East Ham constituencies was earmarked for our attention in 1937. We obtained committee rooms, meetings were held and comrades did a great deal of door-to-door canvassing. Once again, however, our hopes were dashed, this time by the outbreak of the second world war.

The Party was able to do only a small amount of active work during the war, but 1945 presented us with an opportunity we were quick to seize, and Comrade Groves fought North Paddington for us in an atmosphere of tremendous enthusiasm. The good Summer weather enabled scores of members to canvass our literature and plenty of outdoor meetings were held. But the grand climax to our efforts came with the rally at the Metropolitan Theatre in Edgware Road. Packed from top to bottom, it was a thrilling milestone in Socialist Propaganda.

We fought North Paddington again in the by-election of 1946 and in the General Election of 1950, this time with Comrade McClatchie as our candidate. We also put up H. Young in East Ham South. In yet another by-election we went again to North Paddington in 1953, with W. Waters as our representative and filled the Metropolitan Theatre with an eve-of-poll rally. Sadly, the last one, because the Metropolitan Theatre is no more.

Six years were to pass before we did electoral battle again. A leaflet was distributed during the 1955 campaign but no candidates stood. It was a period of some heart searching by many members on whether the time was ripe for us to enter the ring. Maybe this pause was just as well, for by 1959 we were again ready with a candidate, this time W. Read in Bethnal Green. The district had been canvassed for two years before and the campaign was indicative of reviving enthusiasm for electoral activity. Eight hundred and ninety-nine votes were cast for the Socialist candidate.

Since then, Glasgow Branch have swung into action with both municipal and Parliamentary campaigns. In May, 1962, they fought North Kelvin ward with Comrade Mulheron as their candi-

date. Even though only seventy-six votes were cast for him, the effort was well worth while, much of our literature being sold and the candidate appearing on Scottish T.V.—surely something for us to write home about! The valuable experience gained in this, their first effort, served the Glasgow members well when they fought the Woodside constituency by-election in December of that year. Some really hard work was done in bitterly cold weather and they were not disappointed with the 83 votes polled. "We are 83 politically mature people," said candidate Vallar in a press interview.

Perhaps by the time you read this article, the opening shots will have been fired in the 1964 General Election. Comrade Vallar will again be standing in Woodside and Comrade Grant in Bromley South, which just about brings the record up to date. No account of this sort is quite complete, however, without a word or two of tribute to the self-effacing and modest Parliamentary committee, working steadily in the background year after year, and in fact to all those members who have unstintingly helped in this great task over the past sixty years. Their hard work and experience will stand us in good stead in the struggles that lie ahead.

E. T. C.

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## The Party in Wales

THE story of political and industrial activity in South Wales is bound up with the twin products of iron and coal on which, until quite recently, practically the whole population depended. Hence the pattern of life has revolved around, and reflected, these two industries.

Although iron-smelting came first, it was largely conducted in small, isolated pockets. The advent of the Steam Age and the coming of the steamship and the railways gave a terrific impetus to coal-mining. The coalfields became the battleground and graveyard for future generations of the working class. As the army of proletarians marched in, and the verdant green of the Rhondda began to bleed with the wounds of countless coal drifts, a new epoch commenced. It set the stage for the novelist playwright, and poet; an eloquent élite who dramatized to the world the lot of the S. Wales miner. Time, and the harsh reality of expanding capitalism, was to weld this army into one of common suffering—battalions with "immediate demands," but with no knowledge of the only course which could end their problems.

And so these workers, who figuratively still carried the clay of their peasant ancestry on their boots, argued, pleaded—and fought—for elementary existence. With passionate doggedness they built their chapels and trade union lodges. Just as they discussed theology and

poetry in the one, so they wrestled with politics and economics in the other. The vision of the "Sweet By and By" was an exciting prospect.

In those early "Frontier Days" charlatanism and sincerity jostled each other in the valleys teeming with a population density higher than anywhere else in the British Isles. Marxism vied with Methodism, hymns were sung at the coal-face, and Darwinism was studied by the light of midnight oil. Christ and The Miners' Charter stalked the narrow townships. Even today, men talk of the Red Rhondda. "Not a penny off the pay. Not a minute on the day" floated out on the lodge banners—and men were locked out, speeded up and sacked. "Our Jimmy" became champion of the world—and workers lined up for bread and marg. Great novels and hymns were written, choirs sung on the lawns of Royalty and in the homes of the rich up and down the land—and women wailed in unison at the pitheads for their entombed men-folk.

Such conditions provided well-fertilized soil for the growth of leaders—not your college-bred variety either (not at first, anyhow), though later on the little railways stations that stretched like beads on a string along the valley bottoms were choked with the "Singing Welsh"—"Sending our boy off to the London Labour College." "Then watch out!" They were a motley crowd, these leaders and would-be leaders. Some were confessed Atheists, like Aneurin Bevan, whilst others were the respectable, God-fearing type like Mabou, who later became a saint to be remembered by future generations. *And through it all, nothing really changed.*

And so the years passed, years of feverish political and industrial agitation, years of courtship from all sides and from numerous factions, both "spiritual" and earthy. ILP, Syndicalist, "Communist" and "Latter-Day" Nationalists and Religious Revivalists. Men like Even Roberts preached tolerance and forgiveness all round between the miner and his boss—thousands followed his advice and the mineowners slept better at nights.

"Then 'To Wales—the gift of a son.' This saviour came into the valley like a fiery prophet, became Member of Parliament with an army of coal and steel workers at his back. He stormed the citadel of Westminster, proclaiming that his "Socialism" was taken from the bible. His chief argument for nationalization was that it would guarantee a supply of coal for the British Navy in time of war. *And through it all, nothing really*

*changed.* Two great wars came and went, which brought only more exploitation—and death—for the sons of the valleys. At the present time, labour leaders in S. Wales assure us in their writings and public utterances that private enterprise will exist under the next Labour Government! *Nothing is going to change.* They're telling us!

So much for the background—brief as it is—of industrial Wales, a story of skirmishes and day to day struggle. What of today? We have said that nothing has really changed. By that we mean, *nothing has changed the fundamental position of the working class as wage-slaves.* The coal mines have had a face lift and the motor car is a common possession. Pretty houses have, here and there, replaced the dingy rows of miners' cottages and there is running water on tap.

The workers of S. Wales and the valleys are living in a state of near ecstatic illusion; an illusion broken from time to time by the same old troubles—speeding up, strikes and closures. Industry has now spread along the Glamorganshire coast-line where we have the biggest steel-producing mills in Europe. Recently, after a month's strike, Port Talbot was changed from a Welsh Klondyke to a ghost town where Salvation Army vans dished out "Christian Aid." When things are going well our children get scooters and enough food. They also drink large quantities of milk contaminated with a higher degree of Strontium 90 than anywhere else in Britain, the present level being *three times as high as it was in 1958.*

It is against such a background that the Socialist Party in S. Wales has to work. The material to hand is no better, no worse, than anywhere else. At the moment there is a branch of the Party operating in the Swansea area. Recently local elections were in full swing and members were approached regarding our non-participation. We were asked whether we were really interested in standing; whether we were "practical politically conscious." The answer to both questions is "yes." Our aim is to let people know the principles for which we stand. To do this means building up a strong core of Socialists. We can then challenge and defeat the ignorance and apathy which is rife. We can go forward as a whole, pushing out and up into those battle-scarred valleys bearing the one message that counts "Y Bobl yn Union—y Byd yn Un!"—One World, One People!

W. BRAIN.

## Socialists overseas

WE have always maintained that the spread of Socialist ideas does not depend upon the existence of the S.P.G.B. or its Companion Parties, but that they arise from the system under which we have to live. It is therefore encouraging to know in how widely separated parts of the world these ideas are held and discussed; not only in Europe where perhaps it might be less surprising, but in various parts of Africa, the West Indies and Asia.

Anniversaries are, by custom, times when one looks around; remembers the past, takes stock of the present and looks forward to the future. Therefore in this issue celebrating the 60th anniversary of the appearance of the first issue of the *Socialist Standard* our readers may like to learn a little more about our friends and comrades overseas.

Contacts are made in various ways. Among our friends overseas are members of the SPGB who have emigrated, visitors who were in touch with us while over here working or on holiday, and friends made by our members while on holiday abroad. Replies are received to advertisements in overseas editions of English papers and in foreign journals. It is sometimes a little puzzling (though, of course, most encouraging) how some of our contacts overseas come to know us. For instance, recently we received two enquiries from Swaziland and four from Tanganyika within one month!

In the West Indies we are in correspondence with friends in British Guiana, Grenada

and Trinidad, as well as in Jamaica. In Jamaica there is a small group of Socialists who are working hard to make their fellow workers see that the much sought after "Independence" has achieved a change in the colour of the skin of their exploiters, but nothing more. Regular readers who will remember that on two previous occasions we published "Letters from Jamaica" will be interested to know that we have just had advance copies of *A Socialist View*, a pamphlet produced by this group. This covers, briefly, the main points of the Socialist case, in particular as applicable in Jamaica. They also hold discussion meetings whenever they can and members have taken part in debates with other organisations. They are looking forward to next winter, when one of our comrades hopes to spend a month in Jamaica to help and advise them in their activities.

Although this is the only active Socialist Group outside our Companion Parties, we are in correspondence with friends in many other parts of the world. We have just heard, for instance, that in Denmark two of them have been holding discussion meetings on current affairs, and in Vienna we have a staunch Socialist who, in spite of advancing years, continues to take on all and sundry to convince them—against any preconceived ideas they may have—of the true meaning of the word Socialism. He is at present holding discussions with a young student group.

Among the letters we receive one particularly remains clearly in mind. Having

applied for literature in response to one of our advertisements, the enquirer—in Ibadan, Nigeria—not only told us that he has held our views for a number of years but asked why, in view of the advanced stage which capitalism has reached in this country, the majority of the working class in England are not Socialists. Here indeed was the 64,000 dollar question!

Month after month, year after year, our fellow workers appear to be too satisfied with the capitalist system—or too apathetic—to want to put an end to it. They seem to look with an almost fatalistic resignation on the possibility of another world war; this time probably, in view of the terrible weapons which have been developed by the opposing sides, truly "the war to end all wars"—and perhaps the human race. We, too, hope that the day will soon come when they will realise that whether at the forthcoming Election they vote Labour or Tory politicians into power; that if they could have a Liberal or even a "Communist" majority in Parliament—they will still continue to live under capitalism and will have to suffer the worries and indignities of that system. When that day comes—and it cannot come too soon for us—they will decide to abolish capitalism and establish Socialism. To try and bring that day nearer is the aim and work of members of the SPGB, its Companion Parties and friends and sympathisers in England and the rest of the world.

E. G.

## essential reading

The Case for Socialism	1/-
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

## Contributions to the socialist movement

AFTER fifty years of the Party's existence it is worth while drawing attention to the principal contributions the Party has made to the Socialist movement.

- (1). We have always insisted upon the capture of political power before any fundamental change in the social system can be accomplished.
- (2). Until the majority understand and want this change Socialism cannot be achieved.
- (3). Opposition to all reform policies and unswerving pursuit of Socialism as the sole objective.
- (4). Opposition to all war without any distinction between alleged wars of offence, of defence, or against tyranny.
- (5). The understanding that taxation is a burden upon the capitalist class and not upon the working class, and therefore any schemes which are brought forward to cut down taxes are measures of interest to the capitalist class and not to the working class.
- (6). That when the workers understand their position and how to change it they will not require leaders to guide them.

Leadership is the bane of the working class movement for Socialism.

(7). That Socialism is international involving the participation of workers all over the world. Therefore any suggestion of establishing Socialism in one country alone is anti-Socialist.

(8). In a given country there can only be one Socialist Party, therefore no member can belong to any other political party at the same time as he is a member of the Party.

(9). Likewise no member can speak on any other political platform except in opposition.

(10). The Socialist Party must be entirely independent of all other political parties entering into no agreement or alliances for any purpose. Compromising this independence for any purpose, however seemingly innocent, will lead to non-Socialists giving support to the Party.

(11). We throw our platform open to any opponent to state his case in opposition to ours.

(12). Likewise all our Executive meetings, Branch meetings and Conferences are open to the public.

(13). The members have entire control of the Party and all members are on an equal footing.

(14). Finally the Party has a scrupulous regard for political honesty and no skeletons are permitted to moulder in cupboards.

GILMAC.

## Companion Parties

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

### SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.



From the treasury of past Socialist Standards we have selected the following four articles for reprinting in this Special Number. The choice was not easy to make from so much excellence.

## KING CAPITAL'S CORONATION

A King is to be crowned.

In the presence of our Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Premiers of the five dominions of "our" mighty Empire, and the assembled monarchs of many lands, and the Lord God of Israel and the Stock Exchange himself.

The Crown, and the Sceptre, and the Sword of State, and the Cap of Maintenance, and the Rod with the Dove, and the Monkey on the Stick, and all the other symbolical insignia and regalia which have come down to us from barbarism, along with ye Ancient Order of Foresters and ye game of skittles, are to be brought from their dungeon in the Tower (where they have rivalled a pawnbroker's window) and taken to the House of God at Westminster, there to be used in the great ceremony.

And there, before a vast concourse of gentlemen who have won the same distinction in the divorce court that their forefathers gained in piratical, slave-hunting, and other plundering forays of the past, and of high born dames whose "Sir Joshua Reynolds" peach-bloom cheeks are veritable triumphs of the house-decorator's art, and other high-born dames whose ancient lineage goes back to the mighty Pork Kings of Chicago, one George Wettin, a most cosmopolitan British gentleman, will swear great oaths to be faithful to certain hoary superstitions, and to uphold certain important and worthy institutions, and to lay hold of eternal life, and to do it all for the dirt-cheap, upset-competition price of a million a year or nearest offer.

And then another gentleman, who makes a point of doing the job in his nightshirt, scabs on and scandalises every tiddler in the Kingdom by giving the said G. Wettin a dry shampoo with consecrated hair oil, in the full blaze of the public eye, and to the evident perturbation of the Unicorn, who claims affinity with the barbers by virtue of the pole sticking out of his forehead.

What does it all mean; the Crown, and the Orb, and the Sceptre and the Sword of State, and the Cap of Maintenance, and the rest of the jewelled symbols?

What does it mean: the swelling Anthem, the mumbled prayer, the intoned exhortation, the anointing with oil, the Crowning and Enthronisation?

What does it mean: the barbaric pomp and splendour, the lavish display of wealth, the clank of arms and armour and the jingle of spurs, the foregrounding from the ends of the earth of the Empire's rulers?

What does it mean: the flaunting flags, the streets lined with police and military, the hoarse acclamation of pallid millions whose rags flutter a significant reply to the bunting overhead, the bestowing of a meal upon thousands of little

children whom hunger makes glad to accept even such a trifle from hands so heavy laden with wealth that they cannot feel the weight of the charitable grains they scatter?

We are told that these gaudy jewels, this "impressive service," are full of symbolism and historic significance. They are indeed. To the worker who will think it is very obvious that the Crown and the Sceptre and the rest are the symbols of ruling power. But who it is that rules, and who it is that are ruled, are matters less generally understood.

It is commonly believed that "royal" power is the attribute of the monarch of a constitutional country, but nothing could be farther from the truth. That question our capitalist masters in this country fought out many years ago. They have left the King his name and his robes, his Crown and his palaces, but they have stripped him of every vestige of power. The "Crown" is not the King, in any capacity, but the capitalist State. The King's Speech to Parliament is written by his Ministers, even the prerogative of mercy is not the King's, but belongs to the capitalist Cabinet.

The subservience of the royalty of capitalist countries to their capitalist paymasters is shown in such acts as that of the present King's father (then Prince of Wales) in publicly associating himself, at the time of the "trial" of the Jameson raiders, with Cecil Rhodes, the arch-fiend in that disgusting business, who was even then busy engineering the war which was to give the cosmopolitan mine-owners £4,000,000 a year in extra profits, at the cost of so many thousands of working men's lives.

Even the swearing to uphold the institutions of capitalism is all bunkum and make-believe. There is today, in this country at all events, no institution of capitalism that the capitalists themselves are not fully able to maintain, or that they trust to other hands than their own. Why, this man whom they swear to uphold the very walls of capitalism, they do not trust even with the command of one of the fleets of his own(!) navy, for fear he might be in a position to dictate terms to them, or act detrimentally to their interests.

The King as such is a nonentity, a dummy, a convenient cloak behind which the capitalist class carry on their operations of robbing the workers of the fruits of their toil. As a private individual, the landlord of vast estates, George Wettin may make himself feared, but no one trembles at his royal word, or quakes at the thunder of his anointed brow. If the great ones of the capitalist world bow and scrape before him, it is only because he is the incarnation of capitalism, the symbol of the domination of a class of parasites and thieves, the image of themselves triumphant. They know that while the

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workers will flock in millions to cheer this straw man of theirs, dragged through the streets like a fifth of November guy, they and their plunder are safe. Hence they set the example of deification, knowing well they will be followed by their sheep.

The aim of the master class is to keep the workers ignorant, for an ignorant subject class, not knowing how to act in their own interests, can be more easily and inexpensively kept in subjection than an educated one. In fostering this ignorance the first thing to be done is to preserve the inertia of the mind—the tendency of the mind to run in an unchanging direction.

The capitalists know, as well as we do, that it is changing environment that causes the alteration in the mental outlook of the people. Their great endeavour, therefore, is to oppose to that ceaseless evolution in the world about them, over which they have no control, counteracting conditions and influences. Hence they cling with the tenacity of desperation, to the empty husks and decaying forms of the past.

This can be seen in every dominant interest, since every interest, when it has become dominant, becomes conservative and reactionary. It explains why the Catholic Church clings so frantically to its out of date forms, why the Anglican and other Churches set their faces so relentlessly against innovation, and why capitalist countries would rather convert their monarchies to their own ends than abolish them.

A king, in the popular mind, rules by divine sanction and in accordance with grey and hoary custom—as the Archbishop will remind the world at the great shampooing in the words: "Be thou anointed with holy oil, as kings, priests, and prophets were anointed. And as Solomon was appointed king by Zadok the priest and Nathan the prophet, so be you anointed, blessed and consecrated king over this people, whom the Lord thy God has given you to govern."

The capitalists, on the other hand, have no ancient usage behind them, no special appointment from heaven. Unless they can disguise the fact of their dominance, they are clearly seen to rule by might alone—a perpetual challenge to might. A ruling class which has to confess that it rules because it possesses the means of life, already has one foot in the grave, for it holds a lamp to the line of class cleavage that all men may see.

This is the real use of monarchs in capitalist States. Behind the person of the King the capitalists can hide the fact that it is they in reality who rule. By parading their kings before the workers at every possible opportunity, and with every circumstance of pomp and display that their ingenuity can invent, by investing them with divine right and something of divinity itself, the capitalists awaken and stimulate and nurture that spirit of reverence which is so deadly an enemy to the growth of revolutionary ideas, and so detract attention from themselves.

As it is to the interest of the capitalist class to represent that they, together with the working class, are subservient to a greater power, and to set the example of loyalty to their king, it becomes the imperative duty of Socialists to strip the sham of all its disguising tinsel, and to expose the grim, sordid, unromantic, iron form of tyrant Capital beneath it all. No kingly power exists today in Western Europe. Everywhere the owners of the means of production have either bent the monarchy to their will or broken it. Power lies alone with the class of property-owners. They rule who "buzz" us to the checkboard at dawn, who tell us we are "sacked" at dusk; they rule who grind our faces on the factory mill-stones; and rob us at the paybox; they rule who lock us out of the workshops and quarries and mines, in order to convince us by starvation that their view of the value of our labour is cor-

rect; they rule who make mockery of their own laws, and bury our poor fellows alive in blazing coal seams in the bowels of the earth. They rule who own.

Clear your minds, fellow workers, of any idea that these Prime Ministers of the Dominions of the Empire have gathered together to render homage to the house of Hanover. They come to celebrate the dominion of their class and to take steps in conference assembled, to ensure the continued crucifixion of Labour. The whole of this inglorious show, indeed, is subordinate to this object. It is not an effort to solidify and make more stable the monarchy, but to blind the workers to their true position, and make capitalist domination more secure.

It is for this reason that the impudent thieves mock your poverty by flaunting in your faces the wealth they have stolen from you. They wish you to believe that you are sharers in the stupendous opulence all their efforts could not hide from your vision. The late Lord Salisbury, wise in his generation, once cynically said that what the working class wanted was not education but a circus. They are giving us a circus, in order to make our minds less receptive of education.

Fellow workers, there is but one meaning attaching to class rule, and that is class plunder. No man wishes to rule over another except to plunder him. Consider whence comes all this wealth and luxury which is to riot before your weary eyes? Is there one jot or tittle of it that you have not made? You, the workers of the world are the true Atlas. You carry the world upon your shoulders. Your strong arms sow, and reap, and gather the harvest of the field, your stout hearts face the terrors of the mine and battle with the dangers of the deep; your virile brains conquer natural forces, and turn the tyrants of the Cosmic System into agents of wealth production. And what is your portion of it all?

This question is answered by the ranks of armed men who press your serried masses into the gutters, by the gaudy regimental banners whose last glorious inscriptions are "Belfast" and "Tonypandy," by the proposal to compel you to pay to ensure that you shall have 6s. a week to keep wife and family on when you are unemployed.

As long as you are ruled starvation will be your lot, for those who rule over you can always plunder you and always will. You are ruled, not by kings, but by those who possess the land, mines, factories, machinery, railways, and other means of production and distribution, and just because they possess those things. Since you are denied access to those things all the doors of life are shut against you except that of the labour market. You must become wage slaves—must sell your energies to those who own the productive forces. This means that goods are produced for profit, and that profit, that wealth you produce but which is taken away from you, goes to glut the market and to throw you out of work, so that you and your children starve when the warehouses are fullest.

The remedy for all this is to take these means of production and distribution away from their present owners and make them the property of the whole community. Bread will then be produced to feed people, not for profit, and clothes to clothe them, and houses to shelter them. All able-bodied adults will take part in the necessary social labour, and all will partake freely of the wealth produced.

To do this the workers must first study Socialism and organise to capture political power, in order that the political machinery may be used to end for ever the class domination which political power alone upholds.

A. E. JACOMB.

Reprinted from the "Socialist Standard," June, 1911.



## THE PASSING OF LENIN

ONE of the significant facts brought into prominence by the great war was the intellectual bankruptcy of the ruling class of the Western World.

A gigantic field of operations and colossal wealth at their disposal, failed to bring out a single personality above the mediocre, from England and Germany down the list to America and Roumania.

The only character that stood, and stands, above the capitalist mediocrities, was the man lately buried in Moscow—Nikolai Lenin.

The senseless shrieks of the capitalist henchman against Lenin was itself evidence of their recognition of their own inferiority. All the wild and confused tales that were told by the agents of the master class (from Winston Churchill to Mrs. Snowden) to suggest that Lenin was "the greatest monster of iniquity the world has ever seen," largely defeated their object, to every person capable of thinking clearly, by their sheer stupidity and extravagance.

One result of this tornado of lies was to cause a corresponding reaction on the other side. The various groups of woolly headed Communists, inside and outside of Russia, began to hail Lenin a new "Messiah" who was going to show the working class a new quick road to salvation. Thus does senseless abuse beget equally senseless hero-worship.

From sheer exhaustion the two-fold campaign has died down in the last year or two, even the "stunt" press only giving small space to Lenin and Russia.

Lenin's sudden death, despite his long illness, has brought forward a flood of articles and reviews entirely different in tone from those that greeted his rise to power.

The shining light of modern Conservatism—Mr. J. L. Garvin—does not know whether Lenin was famous or infamous, whether he was a great man or a scoundrel, so, wisely, leaves the verdict to posterity to settle.

A Fabian pet, Mr. G. D. Cole, in the *New Statesman*, for February 2nd, makes the claim that Lenin's great work was the "invention of the Soviet"! It is difficult to understand how the editor of a journal, supposed to be written for "educated" people, should have allowed such a piece of stupid ignorance to have passed his scrutiny. The word "Soviet"—that seems to have mesmerised some people—simply means "Council." Every student of Russia knows that the "Council" has been an organic part of the Russian Constitution since the middle of the 16th century. But there may be another explanation of Mr. Cole's attitude. As one of the leaders of that hopeless crusade to turn back the hands of the clock (known as "The Guild System") he sees around him the ruins and the rubbish of the various experiments in this system and maybe he hopes by claiming Russia as an example of "Guildism" to arouse some new enthusiasm for further useless experiments. His hopes are built on shifting sands.

Michael Farberman, in the *Observer*, January 27th, 1924, takes a more daring and dangerous line. He claims to understand Marx and Marxism, and yet makes such statements as:

When Lenin inaugurated the Dictatorship of the Proletariat he obviously was unhampered by the slightest hesitation or doubt as to the efficacy of Marxian principles. But the longer he tested them as a practical revolutionist and statesman the more he became aware of the impossibility of building up a society on an automatic and exclusively economic basis. When he had to adopt an agrarian policy totally at variance with his Marxian opinions, and when later he was compelled to make an appeal to the peasants' acquisitive instincts and go back to what he styled "State Capitalism," he was not only conscious that something was wrong with his Marxian gospel, but frankly admitted that Marx had not foreseen all the realities of a

complex situation. It is probably no exaggeration to say that the greatest value of the Russian Revolution to the world Labour movement lies in the fact that it has replaced Marxism by Leninism.

The above quotation has been given at length because it not only epitomises Mr. Farberman's attitude but also that of many so-called "Socialists."

It will, therefore, be a matter of astonishment to the reader unacquainted with Marx's writings and theories to learn that almost every sentence in that paragraph either begs the question or is directly false.

In the first sentence we have two assertions. One that Lenin established the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat," the other that this is a "Marxian principle." Both statements are deliberately false.

Lenin never established any "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"—whatever that may mean—but only the Dictatorship of the Communist Party which exists today.

In the whole of Marx's writing that he himself saw through the press the phrase Dictatorship of the Proletariat does not occur once! This, of course, Mr. Farberman knows well.

The next sentence contains a phrase that Mr. Farberman may know the meaning of, but which is idiotic nonsense from a Marxian standpoint. To talk of a Society "on an automatic and exclusively economic basis" is utterly in opposition to all Marxian teachings.

If Lenin ever made the statement attributed to him in the sentence that follows—"that Marx had not foreseen all the realities of a complex situation"—which is at least doubtful as no reference is given, that would only show Lenin's misreading of Marx.

But the last sentence is a gem. Not only has the Russian revolution not displaced Marxism by Leninism (for as shown above Marxism never existed there)—it has displaced Leninism by Capitalism.

To understand Lenin's position, both actually and historically, it is necessary to examine the conditions under which he came to the front. Early in 1917 it was clear to all observers that the corruption, treachery and double-dealing of the Czar and his nobles had brought about the collapse of the Army. (See M. Phillips Price *The Soviet, the Terror and Intervention*, p. 15; John Reed, *Ten Days that Shook the World*, etc.).

This was the most important factor in the whole Russian upheaval, and is the pivot upon which all the rest turns.

The Romanoffs and their crew had fallen from power when an efficient armed force was no longer at their disposal. Kerensky, who replaced them, tried to keep the war going without men or munitions. Lenin obtained permission to leave Switzerland for Russia and tried to stir up a revolt in March, 1917, but this failed, and he had to fly to Finland. Confusion grew, and finally it was decided to take steps to call a Constituent Assembly to draw up a new Constitution for Russia. The Bolsheviks hailed this move and loudly protested against the dilatoriness of Kerensky, who was afraid of losing office. At the same time the various Councils of peasants, workers and soldiers began to send representatives to Petrograd for an All-Russian Congress. At once a struggle began between the Kerensky section—or Mensheviks—and the Lenin section—or Bolsheviks—to obtain the majority of representation in this Assembly. For days the struggle continued and almost to the last moment the issue was in doubt, but the superior slogan of the Bolsheviks—"Peace, Bread, Land"—finally won a majority over to their side.

A day or two before this Lenin had come out of his hiding place and placed himself at the head of the Bolsheviks.

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The first thing Lenin did when in office was to keep his promise. He issued a call for peace to all the belligerents on the basis of "no annexations, no indemnities." This astonished the politicians of the Western Nations to whom election promises are standing jokes.

It was at this point that Lenin made his greatest miscalculation. He believed that the working masses of the western world were so war weary that upon the call from one of the combatants they would rise and force their various governments to negotiate peace. Unfortunately these masses had neither the knowledge nor the organisation necessary for such a movement, and no response was given to the call, except the snarling demands of the Allies that Russia should continue to send men to be slaughtered. This lack of response was a terrible disappointment to Lenin, but, facing the situation, he opened negotiations for a separate peace with Germany. And here he made a brilliant stroke. To the horror and dismay of all the diplomatic circles in Europe he declared that the negotiations would be carried on in public, and they were. Thus exposing the stupid superstition still beloved of Communists here, that it is impossible to conduct important negotiations in public.

Of course the conditions demanded by the Germans were hard. Again and again Lenin's followers demanded that war should be re-opened rather than accept these conditions.

Radek reports a conversation (*Russian Information and Review*, January 26th, 1924):—

The mujik must carry on the war. "But don't you see that the mujik voted against the war; Lenin answered, "Excuse me, when and how did he vote against it?" "He voted with his feet; he is running away from the front."

Large tracts of territory were detached from the Bolshevik control, and the greatest blow was the separation of the Ukraine, whose splendid fertile soil would have been of immense value for the purpose of providing food.

Still the problems to be handled were enormous. The delegates to the Constituent Assembly had gathered in Petrograd, but Lenin who shouted as loudly for this Assembly when out of office, was not running the risk of being deposed now he was in office. He had the gathering dispersed, and refused to let the Assembly meet. Sporadic outbreaks among the peasantry were a source of continual trouble, particularly as the Bolsheviks had only a poor force at their disposal. The signing of the Armistice, however, solved this problem. The Communists are fond of claiming that Trotsky organised the "Red Army." This claim is absurd, for Trotsky knew nothing of military matters. The upheaval in Germany, after the signing of the Armistice, threw hundreds of German officers out of work and Lenin gladly engaged their services, at high salaries, to organise the army. By the offer of better food rations, better clothing and warmer quarters plenty of men offered themselves for enlistment. The main difficulty however was not men but munitions.

Lenin and his supporters expected that the victorious Allies would turn their combined forces on Russia. But the Allies were so engrossed in trickery, double-dealing and swindling each other over the sharing of the plunder that they largely ignored Russia. Still to show their goodwill and kind intentions they subsidised a set of thieving scoundrels—Koltchak (assisted by that British hero "Colonel" John Ward), Deniken, Wrangel, Yudenitch, etc., to invade Russia for the purpose of taking it out of the control of the Russians.

It was a most hopeful undertaking, this sending in of marauding bands! The peasant, who had just got rid of his age-long enemy the landlord (sometimes rather summarily)

was expected to assist in restoring that gentleman. To help them in reaching a decision, these marauding bands, with strict impartiality, plundered friend and foe alike. The only result of these various raids was to unify the mass of the people in Russia in accepting the Bolshevik rule. Slowly the Russians began to gather arms. Their army was already in good order, and although the enormous distances and lack of transport prevented them reaching many places, yet whenever the Red Army met the looting bands mentioned above, the latter were defeated, with monotonous regularity.

Of course, compared with the battles on the western front these engagements were mere hand skirmishes, as neither side had any heavy artillery, high-velocity shells, poison gas, nor bombing aeroplanes.

A greater enemy to Leninism than any of these gangs, however, and one which had been exerting its influence for some time, now greatly increased its pressure, this was the individualistic conditions of the peasant, combined with the wants of the townsmen. Various decrees had been passed forbidding private trading in the towns and villages (apart from special licences), but the Bolsheviks had never dared to enforce these decrees in face of the food shortage. The result of this increased pressure was the famous "New Economic Policy," that caused such consternation in the ranks of the Communist parties. In this country Miss Sylvia Pankhurst nearly died of disgust when the news arrived.

But once more Lenin was right. He recognised the seriousness of the conditions and tried to frame a policy to fit them. His own words describe the situation with great clearness:—

Yet, in 1921, after having emerged victoriously from the most important stages of the Civil War, Soviet Russia came face to face with a great—I believe, the greatest—internal political crisis which caused dissatisfaction, not only of the huge masses of the peasantry, but also of large numbers of workers.

It was the first, and I hope the last, time in the history of Soviet Russia that we had the great masses of the peasantry arrayed against us, not consciously, but instinctively, as a sort of political mood.

What was the cause of this unique, and, for us, naturally disagreeable, situation? It was caused by the fact that we had gone too far with our economic measures, that the masses were already sensing what we had not properly formulated, although we had to acknowledge a few weeks afterwards, namely, that the direct transition to pure Socialist economy, to pure Socialist distribution of wealth, was far beyond our resources, and that if we could not make a successful and timely retreat, if we could not confine ourselves to easier tasks, we would go under. (Address to the Fourth Congress of the Communist International.) (Italics ours.)

The most significant phrase in the above statement—the one we have underlined—now admits at last that Marx was right, and that the whole of the Communist "Theories and Theses" are rubbish from top to bottom.

Mr. Brailsford, the £1,000 a year editor of *The New Leader*, in the issue for January 25th, 1924, says:—

Alone in the earthquakes of the war period, this Russian revived the heroic age, and proved what the naked will of one man may do to change the course of history.

What knowledge! What judgment! What intelligence!

Where has the "course of history" changed one hair's breadth owing to Russia? And the above specimen of ignorance, that would disgrace a school child, is considered worth £1,000 a year by the I.L.P.! Doubtless the measure of their intelligence.

The chief points of Lenin's rule can now be traced out. He was the product of the "course of history" when the breakdown occurred in Russia. At first—nay, even as late as the



publication of *Left-Wing Communism* (p. 44)—Lenin claimed that it was "a Socialist revolution." He also claimed that the Bolsheviks were establishing "Socialism" in Russia in accord with Marxian principles. Some of the shifts and even deliberate misinterpretations of Marx's writings that Lenin indulged in to defend his unsound position have already been dealt with in past issues of the *Socialist Standard* and need not detain us here. To delay the victorious Allies taking action against Russia, large sums were spent on propaganda in Europe by the Bolsheviks. "Communist" Parties sprang up like mushrooms and now that these funds are vanishing, are dying like the same vegetable. Their policy was to stir up strife. Every strike was hailed as "the starting of the revolution." But somehow they were all "bad starts"!

When the Constituent Assembly was broken up by Lenin's orders he had the Russian Soviet Constitution drawn up. He realised that if the Bolsheviks were to retain control this new Constitution must give them full power. We have already analysed this Constitution in detail, in a previous issue, but a repetition of one point will make the essential feature clear. Clause 12 says:

The supreme authority in the Russian Soviet Republic is vested in the All Russia Congress of Soviets, and, during the time between the Congresses, in the Central Executive Committee.

Clause 28 says:

The All Russia Congress of Soviets elects the All Russia Central Executive of not more than 200 members. Innocent enough, surely! But—yes, there is a but—the credentials of the delegates to the All Russia Congress are verified by the officials of the Communist Party and at every congress it turns out—quite by accident, of course—that a large majority of the delegates are members of the Communist Party. The others are listened to politely, allowed to make long speeches, and then—voted down by the "Block." This little fact also applies to all "The Third Communist International Congresses," and to all "The International Congresses of the Red Labour Unions." No matter how many delegates the other countries may send, the Russian delegation is always larger than the rest combined.

By this "Dictatorship of the Communist Party" Lenin was able to keep power concentrated in his own hands.

Lenin made desperate efforts to induce the town workers to run the factories on disciplined lines, but despite the most rigid decrees these efforts were a failure. The Russian townsman, like the peasant, has no appreciation of the value of time, and it is impossible to convert a 17th century hand worker into a modern industrial wage slave by merely pushing him into a factory and giving him a machine to attend.

## DEBATE

Wednesday, 23rd September, 7.30 pm  
Bethnal Green Town Hall  
Cambridge Heath Rd., E2  
(Room 3, Patriot Sq. entrance)

"Which Organisation should the Working Class Support?"

SYNDICALIST WORKERS  
FEDERATION or

SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GT. BRITAIN

Lenin's experience proves the fallacy of those who proclaim that modern machines, because they are "fool-proof" in some details, can be operated by any people, no matter how low their stage of development.

Another idea was tried. A number of minor vultures on the working class of the I.W.W. and Anarchist "leader" type, had gone to Russia to see what could be picked up. There were 6,000,000 unemployed in America. Lenin called upon these "leaders" to arrange for the transport of numbers of mechanics and skilled labourers to form colonies in Russia, with up-to-date factories and modern machinery. These "leaders" pocketed their fees and expenses, but the colonies have yet to materialise.

Such was the position up to the time of Lenin's illness.

What then are Lenin's merits? First in order of time is the fact that he made a clarion call for a world peace. When that failed he concluded a peace for his own country. Upon this first necessary factor he established a Constitution to give him control and, with a skill and judgment unequalled by any European or American statesman, he guided Russia out of its appalling chaos into a position where the services are operating fairly for such an undeveloped country, and where, at least, hunger no longer hangs over the people's heads. Compare this with the present conditions in Eastern Europe!

Despite his claims at the beginning, he was the first to see the trend of conditions and adapt himself to these conditions. So far was he from "changing the course of history" as Brailsford ignorantly remarks that it was the course of history which changed him, drove him from one point after another till today Russia stands halfway on the road to capitalism. The Communists, in their ignorance, may howl at this, but Russia cannot escape her destiny. As Marx says:—

One nation can and should learn from others. And even when a society has got upon the right track for the discovery of the natural laws of its movement—and it is the ultimate aim of this work to lay bare the economic law of motion of modern society—it can neither clear by bold leaps nor remove by legal enactments the obstacles offered by the successive phases of its normal development. But it can shorten and lessen the birth pangs" (Preface Vol. I *Capital*).

The Bolsheviks will probably remain in control for the simple reason that there is no one in Russia capable of taking their place. It will be a question largely as to whether they will be able to stand the strain; for the task is a heavy one, and they are by no means overcrowded with capable men. But this control will actually resolve itself into control for, and in the interests of, the capitalists who are willing to take up the development of raw materials and industry in Russia. The New Economic Policy points the way.

The peasant problem will take longer to solve because of the immense areas and lack of means of communications. Until the capitalists develop roads and railways the peasants will, in the main, follow their present methods and habits. When these roads and railways are developed, modern agriculture will begin to appear worked at first with imported men and machines. But then Russia will be well on the road to fully developed capitalism.

The Communists claim that Lenin was a great teacher to the working class the world over, but with singular wisdom they refrain from pointing out what that teaching was. His actions from 1917 to 1922 certainly illustrate a certain lesson that is given above, but the teacher of that lesson was Karl Marx.

J. FITZGERALD.

Reprinted from the "Socialist Standard," March, 1924.

## THE ROMANCE OF AGES

DOWN from the tree-tops he came, primeval man, driven by hunger to wander through the forest with his kin searching for the nuts, roots and fruits on which he lived. He was the oldest specimen of his race and wandered over Europe when the climate was tropical and palms and tropical animals abounded. He required no clothes as the hair covering his body was sufficient protection in the mild climate then prevailing. His only weapons and tools were the branches torn from trees and the rough stones picked out of the beds of water-courses. He had learnt the art of communicating his primitive ideas by means of speech liberally helped out with gestures. His family arrangements were those of the brute form which he had just branched off, no rule had yet grown to guide him higher. He wandered widely over Europe before the coming of the ice drove him towards the Equator.

Slowly, very slowly, and painfully, man acquired more knowledge. A new type arose born during the breaks in the great ice ages. He discovered the wonderful properties of fire, and was able to add fish to his diet, a new weapon with which to fight hunger. Fire severed the cord that bound him to the forests and he wandered widely over the earth in the open, following the courses of the streams that provided him with fish. Out of the beds of streams he took rough stones and fashioned them into crude implements. His habitations were the beds of streams and holes in the hills. He peopled the hills, the woods, and the streams with living beings. The tree that fell on and crushed him, the rocks that impeded his passage, the mighty torrents, became to him objects endowed with life as he was—Religion was born. He wrought on the rough stone making for himself a stone-headed club and spear and became a hunter, strengthening himself in the fight against hunger by the addition of occasional supplies of meat to his food. The evil results of promiscuous marriage were modified by the growth of a rule prohibiting the marriage of parents to children.

Years passed away by the thousand and he learnt to make bows and arrows. Hunting became easier and meat became a more regular part of his food. On clay and stone, on the sides of his caves, using sharp-pointed wood or stone for pens, he sketched rude pictures of the animals he hunted, and the animals that hunted him. With the aid of fire he furnished himself with log boats to carry him over the water. He learnt to weave and make baskets and to make tools out of the bones of animals. He built himself huts and set them out in the form of village settlements—the town was born. He modified still further his marriage relations, and prohibited the marriage of brothers and sisters. He had by now gathered together some property and the seeds of the subsequent class struggles were planted.

This property was held at first by women. He stepped higher in his religious ideas, and worshipped the elements; the earthquake, the cyclone, the cloudburst, inspired him with awe and he trembled before nature's terrors and sought to find means to propitiate the mighty powers that so often involved him in wreck and ruin. He grew in numbers and lived in larger groups. These large groups were separated into gentes, phratries and tribes, or groups of close kinship, groups of near cousins, and groups of distant cousins. He improved his language and learnt the use of syllables. He polished up his stone implements and produced wonderful specimens of polished stone tools. The huge fierce animals that had harassed him of yore began to give way to a smaller and less ferocious kind, and the limbs, stature and gait of man lost much of their strength and uncouthness, becoming more beautiful as befitted one grasping at the conquest of nature.

## 1925

With the discovery of pottery man continued his upward climb and found means to store his ever-growing varieties of food. He tanned the skin of the deer and took a pride in his personal adornment. He built himself villages surrounded by stockades, tamed the dog as a companion for hunting and learned how to make bread. His numbers had now grown so large that much of his attention was taken up with social organisation. The tribes had grown into numerous tribes living in a confederacy under a council of chiefs—the state was born. His religious ideas had moved upward to the conception of a great spirit that ruled his destiny, and the dreams that troubled his sleep became to him evidences of the wandering of himself in other lands. His rude attempts at art grew into the making of pictures that conveyed ideas to those at a distance—the art of writing was born.

Some of the animals he hunted he learnt to domesticate and secured for himself a regular supply of milk and meat. But he did more. The work to be done in attending to flocks and herds was little. It was possible to supply the needs of many by the labour of few. Man at last was able to provide a surplus on which non-workers could live. Man learned the lesson well and in the wars on his kind he obtained captives who were put to work looking after the herds, thus giving leisure to the owners of the herds—in such wise was born the slavery that flourishes today.

Man cleared the forests and converted them into arable land and land on which to pasture flocks. He cultivated gardens and raised root crops, pushing farther away his age-long enemy hunger. His wealth and responsibilities grew so much that he built for himself habitations of wood, mud and stone, and surrounded them with fortifications for the safe-keeping of his utensils and his cattle and to guard against the attacks of others of his kind. He added to his implements, his utensils, his weapons, and his ornaments by learning to manipulate metals—he had left the age of stone and entered the age of bronze. He built villages on the waters at the edges of lakes, safe from marauding animals and men. He made for himself personal gods, with idols and appointed officials to interpret the method of worship—priesthood had come into being. His council chiefs became organised into a close corporation, limiting election of officials to members of their families—aristocracy was born. He learnt how to picture ideas instead of objects, so developing his means of communication by writing.

His garden cultivation grew into field culture by the discovery of iron and the subsequent invention of the ploughshare. He now changed his habitation into towns surrounded with walls and battlements. His growing wealth and aristocratic privileges brought on the first great class struggle—the struggle between man and woman as to who should own and bequeath the store of wealth that had accumulated. Man won and changed the law of inheritance from the female to the male. Individual ownership of property and to some extent the private ownership of land followed.

With the discovery of letter script and its use for writing records man entered into his own as a civilised being. The rest is a matter of history.

Reader, the above is a painfully brief and scrappy description of man's development during prehistoric times. If you would enter fully into the romance consult the books on the subject that abound and you will have no cause for regret. Most of what is written above you will find in *Ancient Society*, a book written by Lewis H. Morgan. Look for it in the library.

GILMAC.

Reprinted from the "Socialist Standard," June, 1925.



## THE RISE OF HITLER

THE rise of Hitler to power in Germany is an event which the workers of all countries should study with care. It is not an isolated phenomenon, but part of a world-wide overflowing of discontent. It is not a coincidence that the three years since the oncoming of the crisis late in 1929 have witnessed the abrupt and sometimes violent overthrow of governments in different parts of the capitalist world. "National" Governments in the United Kingdom and many of the British Dominions; the advent of De Valera in the Irish Free State; the colossal defeat of "Prosperity" Hoover in the U.S.A.; repeated cabinet crises in France; political revolutions and counter revolutions in South America; the Republic in Spain; political crises in Scandinavia; expulsions of leaders and reversals of policy in Russia; no country has escaped the economic consequences of a capitalist world which is seriously out of joint. Each country has witnessed the consequent political stresses and strains of new discontents, and new slogans, which had generally brought about new political groupings and new figure-heads. The universal insurgency expresses itself in different ways according to the traditions, experience and constitutions of the various countries. A century ago such economic crises brought to a head deep underlying social conflicts and produced the revolutions of '30 and '48, with their violent overthrow of kings and absolutist constitutions. Nowadays the more advanced countries have developed systems which permit easier adjustment to new pressures, avoiding the disturbance and expense of the appeal to violence. Countries which have not travelled so far along the road of capitalist democratic government still resort to the old method of the bomb, the rifle, and the machine gun, the mass demonstration, the barricade, and the organisation of insurrection in the armed forces. In a broad way the cause and the effect are the same everywhere. Everywhere capitalist private ownership reigns. Everywhere the rulers must serve the interests of the capitalist class, but everywhere it is an over-riding condition of social life that the rulers cannot ignore the active discontent of the mass of the population. The discontent, even the open rebellion, of individuals and minorities can be bludgeoned into acquiescence, but when great masses of the population are driven by intolerable conditions into organising for common action then the rulers must sooner or later provide a safety valve; placate the movement or find means of dividing it; turn it into new directions or harness it directly to the capitalist state. In no other way can capitalism maintain itself.

Long before the war the British ruling class learned how to incorporate radical politicians and labour leaders in the parties of capitalism. The German capitalists in 1918 jettisoned the Kaiser for a similar end. Fifty per cent. of the German voters had registered their disillusionment and war-weariness by voting for the reform programme of the Social Democratic Party. German capitalism thereupon "digested" the S.D.P. and watched it stabilise German capitalism in the troubled post-war years. The military and civil associates of the Imperial Kaiser humbled themselves to the "upstart" labour leaders because they had to have someone who could control the workers and keep them loyal to the fundamentals of capitalism. So for fourteen years the Social Democrats, either in coalitions or in "friendly opposition," worked out their policy for bargaining for reforms as price of their support. The outcome was inevitable. They have shared the fate that has always overtaken "Labour" politicians and parties when they accept responsibility for the administration of capitalism. Discontent with the effects of capitalism cannot for ever be stifled by Labour promises of better times or

apologetic assurances that things might be worse. The membership and influence of the German S.D.P. declined year by year until it has shrunk to a third of its former size. Part of the loss was picked up by the Communist Party, but in the meantime a new group has arisen, led by Hitler. At the election on March 5th he received 17,266,000 votes (43.9 per cent.) and his allies, the Nationalists, received 3,132,000 (8 per cent.), giving him a clear majority. The Social Democrats received 7,176,000 (18.3 per cent.) and the Communists 4,845,000 (12.1 per cent.).

In one important respect Hitler's Nazis are just like the Social Democrats and the Communists; they are all parties of discontent. Hitler promises work for the workless; secure government jobs in the police, the Army or the Civil Service for 100,000 of his members; higher prices for agricultural products to help the peasants; and protection for the small investor and little shopkeeper squeezed by the big stores and the banks.

Immediately on taking office Hitler imposed fresh taxes on the big departmental stores and chain stores with the professed object of helping the small shopkeepers. He promised also to find posts for out-of-work professional men (doctors, lawyers and others), and it is because a relatively large number of bankers, proprietors of big stores and the more successful professional men are Jews that the party has taken on a violently anti-Jewish character. Every Jewish doctor driven out of practice, every Jewish lawyer barred from the courts, every Jewish schoolmaster and civil servant dismissed, makes another vacancy for one of his members. He was supplied with funds by German heavy industry, by armament manufacturers both in Germany and in France, and by American and other business men and financiers who had investments in Germany for which they needed protection. With the help of these funds Hitler's party has known how to rally all kinds of discontent into a great movement representing half the electorate of Germany. Therefore Hitler has had to be "digested" as fourteen years ago were the Social Democrats. The stately and imperious Hindenburg and the aristocratic von Papen, representing the military caste and big landowners, have had to receive on terms of equality the Austrian house-painter Adolf Hitler. Dr. Hugenberg and the Nationalist Party, representing big industrial capitalists, have had to enter into coalition with him. Hitler will now have to administer capitalism. He will have to curb the demands of his followers, disappoint them, and ultimately lose many of them to new political adventurers, whereupon the capitalists and landowners who now use him will scrap him and use his successor.

The great lesson to be learned from the decline of the Social Democrats is the sterility of the policy of reforms and of reform parties. The day on which a reform party reaches power is the day on which the evil effects of capitalism begin to sap and undermine the strength of the party, turning the members' blind loyalty first into bewilderment and then into dissatisfaction, causing them to drift into new parties.

The depths of mental bankruptcy of the reformists are shown by the comment of the Fabian *New Statesman* (London, March 11th, 1933). After explaining that Hitler scored because he appealed, with banners and uniforms and parades, to the electorate's love of glamour, the German correspondent of the *New Statesman* says that the Social Democrats should have done the same, and should have given more prominence to pageantry and less prominence to social reforms. In other words, the workers are to be enticed, not even by the old plan of "bread and circuses," but by circuses

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without the bread! This is what forty years of Fabian reformism has brought to the working-class movement!

The second lesson is one which has been entirely missed by the Labour Press in Great Britain, that is the evidence given by the Hitler episode of the overwhelming importance of controlling the political machinery. Six months ago, although the largest party in Germany, Hitler was not in control of the German Parliament and the machinery of government. He was ridiculed and derided by the members of the Government, and insulted by President Hindenburg. His party officials were hauled into court on charges of treason, and thrown into prison. Others were forced to flee the country. His newspapers were suppressed, his offices were raided by the police, his troops were forbidden to parade or wear uniforms in the street. When they attempted defiance they were driven off just like the Communists.

Now, having become possessed of the political machine and confirmed in power by the electors, he is able to turn the

tables on his former opponents. He has removed the Governments of all the States of Germany. Former Cabinet Ministers have been arrested, beaten and made to suffer many indignities. Newspapers have been suppressed and their offices raided—from Conservative Catholic newspapers at one end of the scale to Social Democratic and Communist newspapers at the other. The Communists, in spite of their 5,000,000 voters and their year-long boasting of their belief in "mass action" and military revolt, have been cowed into complete submission without offering any real resistance whatever. Events are proving to them what they refused to learn. The organised political majority which controls the political machinery of the modern State is in a position to dominate, and can enforce submission on minorities. There is no road to Socialism except through the control of the machinery of government by a politically organised majority of Socialists.

Reprinted from the "Socialist Standard," April, 1933.

## Cash and carry on

Looking back over the years, it is remarkable to notice how much the Party has accomplished with such slender financial resources.

In 1904 the Founder Members were faced with the problem of finding the necessary cash from their own scanty means.

They had set their hands to a mighty task, to convert the workers of the world to the cause of Socialism.

To carry out this work, they needed a central office from which to operate and a journal to carry the message.

Apart from the difficulty of finding the necessary cash to pay the rent, most landlords were hostile and many would not accept us as tenants at any price.

After being pushed from one miserable office accommodation to another equally depressing, we were finally, in an air raid, blown out of premises in Great Dover Street. This happened towards the end of the last war and although we managed to find other accommodation it was evident that the one satisfactory solution to this problem was to secure our own Central

Office.

During the war, with the bombing and the black-out, activity was greatly reduced and as a result of this inactivity we were in the most unusual position of accumulating funds.

This small reserve, together with a mighty effort on the part of the members and a generous loan from a member, enabled us to buy the premises we now occupy as our Central Office.

Sixty years ago, the Party published the first number of the *Socialist Standard* and every month since then this journal has made its appearance.

In spite of all the difficulties and dangers caused by two world wars the *Standard* appeared regularly. The difficulty of obtaining newsprint and finding the money to pay for it on the one hand, and the problem of avoiding a shutdown by authorities on the other, were overcome. The case for Socialism was clearly stated in every copy, as was our bitter opposition to that bloody slaughter.

This magnificent record, as far as we know

unequalled by any other organisation in any part of the world, was accomplished by the voluntary and unpaid services of members of the Party.

The sixty volumes of the *Socialist Standard* stand as a living record of the ability and courage of those members who laboured to produce them.

Apart from the generous and unpaid services members give to the Party, an organisation such as ours is always faced with the problem of finance. As a working class party we depend upon the donations that working people can afford and it is most gratifying to note how generously they respond to our appeals.

The cost of producing the *Socialist Standard* has increased by over three hundred per cent. during the past twenty years. The present copy is costing much more than we are selling it for, but we are happy to produce a special issue such as this. If you wish to take part in this effort we shall be pleased to accept your donations and assure you that they will be made good use of.

E. L.

## From a Veteran

A member of the party for over 50 years, I can view the advance of real Socialist knowledge, from the early days of the proverbial soap box to our indoor meetings at large halls and the concentration of members at a rally in Trafalgar Square.

Our organisation derives its income from members of the working class; there is no political levy to finance our candidates in parliamentary elections, nor grants from huge industrial corporations. The Declaration of Principles laid down by those few clear-thinking Socialists in 1904 has been the basis on which the policy of the party has been formulated. It has never been found necessary to alter them; they meet the conditions of today as they did in the early

days of the motor car.

From the first issue of the *Socialist Standard*, our attitude to Capitalism has been one of opposition, with no compromise, whilst other organisations professing similar Socialist teachings have fallen by the wayside into the morass of reformism. Over the years we have combined forces with Socialist parties whose Declaration of Principles is based on our own—in Australia, New Zealand, America, Canada, Ireland, and even the small island of Jamaica. A tribute, this, to those pioneers who 60 years ago founded the Socialist Party of Great Britain and produced the first issue of the *Socialist Standard*, which is now sent to many countries abroad.

The ramifications of Capitalism are world wide, notwithstanding the new dictators who talk glibly of "Socialising" the new countries over which they rule. When the "liberation" chants have died away and the fireworks have fizzled out, the workers will still find themselves living in poverty. Only the formation of a Socialist Party in those countries will provide the means of exposing the fallacy of having dictators or leaders.

Those parties will be able to join with our fellows throughout the world to abolish Capitalism and assist in the birth of the next system of society, Socialism.

GRATTAN.



## Russian State Capitalism

*Russia: A Marxist Analysis* by Tony Cliff (International Socialism, 18/-)

The problem of Russia was a much more immediate one for the trotskyists than it was for other groups. It is for this reason that so much of the research into the nature of the social order in Russia has come from this source. It would be foolish to pretend that we can learn nothing from their works and particularly foolish to pretend that nothing can be learned from Tony Cliff's *Russia: A Marxist Analysis*. Cliff is the leading exponent of one of the trotskyist state capitalist theories.

As a follower of Trotsky, he holds that the Russian revolution was the first stage of a world socialist revolution. The failure of this revolution to spread left the Russian "Workers' State" isolated. In these circumstances, asks Cliff, what social order *could* appear in Russia? Socialism was out of the question and the backwardness of the country had already led to the appearance of a bureaucratic clique above the workers. Capitalism had to develop there. This did not take the form, as might have been expected, of a bourgeois restoration. Instead the bureaucracy transformed itself into a class when it began the process of rapid capital accumulation in 1928. In doing this it was carrying out the traditional function of the bourgeoisie.

The historic mission of the Stalinist bureaucracy became the establishment of capitalism in Russia. This it did with a ruthlessness previously unparalleled. Primitive capital accumulation in Britain, as described by Marx, was bloody enough. In Russia—with its slave camps, political terror and "dekulakisation" which drove the peasants into the factories—it was worse. The first part of Cliff's book analyses this process in detail. The name Cliff chooses for Stalin's regime is Bureaucratic State Capitalism. This describes a situation where a bureaucracy in control of the state machine fulfils the function of the bourgeoisie in capitalist relations of production.

In the second part of the book Cliff shows how Bureaucratic State Capitalism—with its irrational price system and other contradictions—has become a positive hindrance to the further development of the productive forces in Russia. The Stalinist bureaucracy has now fulfilled its purpose and is superfluous. Khrushchev's reforms can't disguise this fact. What of the future? Cliff maintains that there can be no return from a state-

directed economy to a market economy and that therefore the overthrow of the bureaucracy can only lead to Socialism. As proof of this he instances the Hungarian Revolution.

We agree with Cliff's description of Stalin's Russia as Bureaucratic State Capitalism though not with his analysis of how and why it came about. Nor can we accept what Cliff suggests is going to happen. To talk of a "return" to a Western style market economy is nonsense for such a system has never existed in Russia. Bureaucratic State Capitalism is a stage in the development of Capitalism in Russia. This stage is now coming to an end and a market economy similar in some respects to that in the West is appearing. Cliff ignores the example of Yugoslavia; he also makes no reference to the proposals of Prof. Liberman and Academician Nemichinov for a relaxation of controls and a more rational and flexible price system. Of course, this evolution away from a bureaucratically-directed economy need not be automatic; Russia is a leading military power with a huge defence budget. A worsening of the international situation, as Cliff points out, could lead to a tightening of bureaucratic control over the economy.

One point that is brought out by Cliff is that the form of appropriation of surplus value under bureaucratic State Capitalism is different from that of the capitalism analysed by Marx. The ruling bureaucracy in Russia only exercises a *de facto* class monopoly over the means of production. Thus their share appears only to a small extent in the forms of rent, interest and profit: they get it in other ways, particularly as bloated salaries, pensions and prizes. As Cliff points out, towards the end of feudalism the ruling ideology condemned interest and profit, by which they meant only rent. So in Russia where the ruling ideology condemns unearned income, the surplus value is camouflaged as "earned income". This is important as it brings out a difference between capitalism in Russia and the capitalism we know in the West.

Who are the recipients of this share out? Do they form a class? Cliff maintains that they do because they carry out the functions of a capitalist class. This seems fair enough. The bureaucracy is made up of the top political, military and industrial managers. This is not a homogeneous social group and there is room for conflict. Under the bureaucratically-directed economy of Stalin's era the man-

agers of the industrial enterprises were subject to the control of the political bureaucrats; now that Russia is moving away from a bureaucratically-directed economy, the managers are gaining more freedom. Any move in this direction is bound to strengthen their hands against the party bureaucrats. The managers appear to be the emerging dominant

### THE WAR AND YOU

As we went to Press with our last issue, but too late for us to deal with the events in our pages, the great capitalist States of Europe were flinging declarations of war at each other and rushing in frenzied haste to the long-expected and carefully prepared for Armageddon.

When we say that this mad conflict has been long expected and well-prepared for we make a statement that is almost trite. However much the masters of Europe may have tried to hide the underlying causes and objects of their military preparations, they have never taken any pains to conceal the fact that they were arming against "the day," and that "the day" was inevitable. Miles of paper and tons of printing ink have been used in the various countries in order to disseminate among the "common" people—i.e., the working class?—explanations calculated to fix the blame on other shoulders. In each country voluminous "exposures" have been made of the villainous machinations of the "foreigner," always in such deep contrast to the Christian innocence of the expositors. But so far have any of the chief parties ever been from disguising the inevitability of the event they have been arming for, that they have used these very "exposures" to obtain the assent of public opinion to the race for armaments and the preparations for wholesale slaughter.

On the Continent they speak of British hypocrisy. The truth is that there is among the rulers of every capitalist country, hypocrisy enough and to spare, and the attitude of British Statesmen toward neutrals abroad and the working class at home reeks with characteristic hypocrisy. In spite of the fact that nowadays very few even of their working-class dupes really believe in the "altruistic" humbug regarding the maintenance of the "independence of small nations," or attach any importance to Asquith, Grey & Co's. drivel about the "honour of Britain," it is on those canting grounds that our masters seek to justify their plunge into the red vortex of war.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, September, 1914.

group in Russia. The completion of this process should put an end once and for all to the myth that Russia is Socialist.

Russia has set a pattern of capitalist development for backward and peasant countries; and Bolshevism is the theoretical aspect of this. This explains its attraction in the less developed parts of the world. In this pattern the historic

mission of the capitalist class is performed by an industrialising elite. In Russia these were the leaders of a revolutionary party; elsewhere they are young military officers, revolutionary intellectuals and nationalist political leaders. The very fact that such regimes are called *state* capitalist implies an enhanced role for political leaders and state

officials. The evolution of capitalism in these countries may thus be different from the pattern described by Marx in *Capital*. There is a crying need for a detailed marxist analysis of this new pattern. Cliff's book on Bureaucratic State Capitalism in Russia is a contribution to this. It should be essential reading for all Socialists.

A.L.B.

### THE LITERATURE OF SOCIALISM

The following pamphlets have been published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain during the past sixty years:—

Manifesto	1905
Handicraft to Capitalism (by Karl Kautsky)	1906
Art, Labour and Socialism (by Wm. Morris)	1907
The Working Class (by Karl Kautsky)	1908
The Capitalist Class (by Karl Kautsky)	1908
Socialism and Religion	1910
Socialist Party and the Liberal Party	1911
Socialist Party and Tariff Reform	1912
Socialism	1920
Why Capitalism Will Not Collapse	1932
Questions of the Day	1932
Principles and Policy	1932
War and the Working Class	1936
The Czech Crisis and the Workers	1938
The Socialist Party Exposes Mr. Chamberlain	1938
Socialism or Federal Union?	1940
Nationalisation or Socialism?	1945
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	1946
Beveridge Reorganises Poverty	1946
Family Allowances—A Socialist Analysis	1946
The Racial Problem	1947
Communist Manifesto and the Last 100 Years	1948
Russia Since 1917	1948
Socialist Party and War	1950
Socialist Comment	1956
Schools Today	1960
Art, Labour and Socialism (by Wm. Morris)	1962
Canadian Essays	1962
The Case for Socialism	1962

Revised editions of some of these pamphlets and numerous leaflets have also been published.

## Futility of Legality

As the late Professor Joad would have said, "It all depends on what you mean by justice." In the world of capitalism we get justice right enough—capitalist justice, and the principles on which it is based are the preservation of private property society. That the rich remains rich, and demonstrably so, and the poor remain poor, is only to be expected. To blame the legal set-up for that is really to put the cart before the horse.

These few words could perhaps summarise our feelings on Dagobert D. Runes' latest book *The Disinherited and the Law* (Philosophical Library, \$3.00). Each chapter is a short essay on the shortcomings of the American laws (mainly) and the author's contention throughout is that:—

The law is not a symbol of justice, but rather an expression of the wishes and desires of those in dominance. . . .

You can see that he has equated "justice" with humanity. He is appalled at the discrimination against Negroes in the southern states and the connivance of the law at the acts of terrorism and murder which frequently occur. He is just as incensed at the fate of the unemployed dockworker who was imprisoned in Naples for stealing a side of beef at Christmas time to feed his hungry family.

There are countless moans like this throughout the book. The inconsistencies on gambling, alcoholism, drug-taking and homosexuality, all come under his attack. In one chapter he is particularly enraged at the fact that Nazis, Negro haters and Jew baiters are allowed to pour out their poisonous messages without serious let or hindrance. The law, he says, should be altered to put a stop to them.

Now it is undeniable that there are many laws, which when judged even by capitalism's standards, are oppressive and anomalous. It is for this reason that there are always those who are campaigning for their reform. In England, for example, it is many years since anyone was hanged for stealing a five-shilling watch, but to steal a watch is still an offence because the watch, like everything else in capitalist society, is still the private

property of some individual or other. And the law is concerned first and foremost with the rights of private property, however much you may reform away its worst faults.

Mr. Runes seems to have an inkling of this but, like many others, thinks that the law can be altered to work in the interests of the masses. He pleads:—

Let our law be . . . freed from narrow, suppressive and property dictated tradition and transformed into a code of new values and new considerations.

And what are these new considerations? Perhaps a glance at page 59 will give us an idea:—

If the rich take property, it should be taken back from them; if the poor take property, they should make restitution as well as they can. . . .

So when the author's reforms are put into effect, we will still have rich and poor, and the struggle between them will still go on. The law will be more "humane" perhaps. There will be fewer prisons of the old type, and petty offences will receive more lenient treatment than they do now. On the other hand, the racist and the violent criminal will be isolated in island settlements, being made to work and being paid the current rate for the jobs they do. But what of that? Penal reform societies are pressing for such measures all the time.

The point which escapes Mr. Runes is that even with sweeping reforms, the law will always be oppressive, because it is concerned with administering the affairs of an essentially oppressive system of society. All that he has done is perhaps to summarise the case for various changes which might bring the law in line with the needs of contemporary capitalism. The unemployed, meat-stealing dockworker may get easier treatment under Runes' new rules, but he will still be a poor person, like the rest of the working class.

E. T. C.

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son, Ltd. (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London E.C.1.



## Letter from Austria

IN the "free world," demonstrations and marches of discontented workers are now the order of the day. No trade, profession or service is exempt from these public protestations against rising prices, lagging wages, social injustice and other evils suffered by all sections of the wage-slaves. One trade after another, from transport, metal, textile and chemical industries to doctors and teachers, is on the move threatening strikes, and marches to the seat of government. Banners and posters are carried, airing grievances and demanding redress and help. Television usually focuses on these demonstrations—such mournful processions, plus military parades, are indeed among the regular tele-features.

In Austria, last year's march of a thousand miners to Vienna recently had its double, this time from the federal province Burgenland, the most depressed area of this country.

Among the inscriptions on these Burgenland workers' banners was one reading: "Not yet come of age." One sadly reflects how many Burgenland workers are aware of the sorry fact that in whatever respect or aspect they may consider "their province as 'not yet come of age'" the workers themselves, and for that matter, the workers of the whole world, have yet to reach maturity. One wonders how many adult and normally intelligent workers would be ashamed to confess their political unripeness. Or does it betray political maturity and common sense for workers with the overwhelming majority of votes in their hands, to invariably vote for the continuation of their economic dependence on a small parasite minority, and to entrust leaders and guardians the safeguard of their class interests?

While it is generally understood that infants and minors, mental deficient, the old and infirm, like the blind and other unfortunates, need guardianship and leading, what is one to say of the brightness and brains of apparently sound adults blindly following leaders, despite their black record in the grim history of blood, sweat and tears? The sorry fact is that the mass of the workers of the world are quite prepared to remain under tutelage and dominance; to go begging to, and leave their fate in the hands of, their masters and "superior" leaders, instead of themselves organising for the purpose of working out, with their fellow-workers, their lives in accordance with their own needs. As already mentioned, the vote in their hands is the instrument to achieve this end—their emancipation from wage-slavery.

Meanwhile it remains a pitiful spectacle to see adult men and women humbling and degrading themselves by going hat in hand to a propertied, non-working minority of landowners, industrial magnates, bankers, shareholders, etc., with appeals for what can only be crumbs falling from the rich man's table.

The Burgenland workers are typical of the lack of human dignity. The Esterhazy family, who own one-fifth of the whole federal province, draw 15 million schilling (£205,000) net profit annually from their forest property; 17 million (£233,000) from their lake ground and reeds, plus the income from leased arable land and vineyards, and the Esterhazy castle and grounds at Eisenstadt. Withal, Dr. Esterhazy is not even Burgenländer—he hails from Hungary. The Vienna conservative government procured for him the Austrian citizenship, but Esterhazy left Austria at once and lives in Switzerland. He is doing well there, while 23,000 poor peasants eke out a most precarious existence, and 25,000 itinerant workers are toiling far away from their families in summer, living on the dole in winter. No wonder that one of the delegates of the marchers asked the minister in Vienna how to exist on 167 schilling (about £2 6s.) a week.

Much more could be said on the dismal side of things in Austria, on the housing problem, with nearly half the population still living in single rooms or room-kitchen tenements (no water or W.C. within) and 30,000 urgent cases of home-seekers on the waiting lists in Vienna, while there are at the same time an equal number of empty flats—100,000 of them in the whole of Austria! There is the ever increasing criminality (632 murders between 1945 and 1963), alcoholism, accidents at work (160,000 annually, of which 600-700 fatal), the slaughter on the roads (60,000 accidents with 1,700 killed in 1963), etc., etc. Space does not allow us to deal with more, except to say that with the average annual income of about 20,000 schilling (£274), poverty and sickness is as rampant as ever in the midst of great wealth and affluence. Indeed, the *Finanzamt* has just revealed that in Austria more than a thousand persons have incomes of a million schilling (about £14,000) per year, and 2,652 persons paid taxes on 500,000 schilling (£7,000) each per year.

To anyone who should ask how this squares with the usual tale of "never had it so good," I would say this: If the late American Presidents Roosevelt and Kennedy and the current President Johnson had to campaign against the terrible

poverty and the innumerable accompanying social evils in the richest country in the world; if, as President Johnson admitted, with "ever increasing productivity and growing wealth on the one side, you have chronic unemployment on the other," which they "can only try to mitigate, but cannot solve"—is it likely that the working class in any other country are better off and happier?

Withal, some thoughtful writers, politicians and scientists, often express concern and alarm about "Where are we going?" "Where does science and the further technical development lead to?" they ask. And they supply themselves an answer: "It will lead to the end of mankind, or at least to total slavery." Others prophesy: "Relapse into the worst barbarism after a nuclear war."

Says one writer: "What is to be done?" And he suggests: "To bring the effects of the continued technical advance drastically and clearly to the knowledge of the people, so that they at last begin to do something about the contemporary problems of their existence." As if the people were not daily being reminded of the terrible conflicts brewing everywhere, which never allow the constant fear of war to abate. And has this generation not had "the effects" of the continued technical advance "drastically and clearly" enough brought to its knowledge by two actual world-wars? And by the many smaller wars in Korea, Suez, Algiers, in the Middle and the Far East, in Cyprus, etc.? Fact is that none of those writers and seers have any alternative to offer to enable mankind to extricate itself from the most awful dilemma it has ever faced in all its history.

Looking back and at the present anarchic, chaotic world situation, one must ask oneself how long the working class will continue to invest their masters and their paid hirelings with their trust and confidence? Is it not time to ask themselves what intellectual and moral credentials, references or merits those welfare agents and leaders have, to deserve that trust? And what value can be put on their promises? Just consider for example the record of some of the contemporary statesmen, leaders, politicians, experts and scientists, bishops and popes and other top personalities in public life.

The cause of the two world-wars was economic rivalry, which did not justify the shedding of a single drop of working class blood. Yet did not the world's leaders, ignoring the real cause, either take part in one or the other belligerent

line-up or otherwise support the carnage, or do nothing against it? And what are these worthies doing now against the monstrous new armaments which are part of their masters' preparations for the next holocaust?

Were not "reformers" like Roosevelt, Kennedy and Johnson—and Stalin, Khrushchev, Churchill, Hitler, Mussolini, Tito, and the rest of the war lords—among the foremost active agents in the two bloodiest mercenary commercial conflicts the world has known? And do

not the military chiefs on all sides boast of the superiority of their armaments, their preparedness for any emergency, and even indicate the approximate figure of casualties in the initial phase of an all-out nuclear war?

Verily, only real innocents and very naive workers can still look up to their "betters" and continue to place their trust in an "intellectual elite" of such past record, instead of "at last beginning to do something about the contemporary problems of their existence."

## The passing show

### Never in the right

Some of our older readers may have lived through the earlier years of this century. Perhaps they can recall the bitter struggles between employers and workers. Strikes and lockouts. Strikes to improve wages and conditions. Strikes very often against lowered wages and deteriorating conditions. One other thing they may also remember is that, whatever a particular strike or lockout was about, the workers were never in the right. They wanted shorter hours? O.K., then, they were lazy. They wanted more pay? O.K., then, they were greedy. If a dispute was in a major industry, such as docks, coalmining or railways, they were irresponsible, led by a bunch of rabble rousers and "holding the nation up to ransom."

Sometimes the strikes were successful—or partly so. Sometimes, very often in fact, they failed. The struggles of the engineers in the early Twenties, for example, did not prevent pay reductions. Nor did the General Strike of 1926 stop the coalowners lowering the miners' wages and lengthening their working day. After the collapse of the general strike, the miners fought on for nine bitter months and were beaten to their knees at the end of it. But if the capitalist press of those days was worth believing, the strikers were all in the wrong.

In those days, with a falling market and a large pool of unemployed, it was almost a foregone conclusion that the capitalists would fight tooth and nail against every union demand. The lockout was the weapon they sometimes used. But in the years immediately after the end of the second world war, it was a somewhat different story. Six years of destruction had left a large market to be filled, and with Germany and Japan out of the running for the time being, the call was for an all-out export drive. There was a severe labour shortage, and workers were in a strong position to press for higher wages and conditions.

This time, however, there was another snag—the Labour Government, who appealed for less strikes and plenty of hard work. The production drive was all-important, and to down tools then was a stab in the back for the "workers' govern-

ment" and for Britain. And as usual, when workers did come out the government and press were at one in condemning them. The union leaders often listened to the government's pleas and many of the strikes were "unofficial," one could have been forgiven for sometimes wondering whether the men were fighting the employers or their own leadership. In the latter part of the Labour Government's term, wage rates were actually lagging behind prices.

What is the position today, some thirteen years and several Tory governments later? Believe it or not, you are *still* wrong to strike. Now "we" have to keep costs down in a highly competitive market. We have to increase productivity so that there will be more for all, yet we mustn't ask for more wages to get some of the extra which we have turned out. Higher wages mean higher prices—a lie spread equally by Labour, Liberal and Tory politicians. Always it is the same dreary story. Be patient and accept less today, and you will double your living standards in twenty-five years. Always it is—tomorrow.

In the Labour Government days, it was a "wage freeze." Under the Tories it has been given the more sophisticated sounding name of "pay pause." For some time the government has been taking a tough line against wage increases and has been hardening its attitude towards its own employees in this respect. The postmen were the latest victims of such policy and by the time Mr. Bevin had got round to making an offer, their patience was just about exhausted. And nobody can truthfully call the postmen impatient. Their last strike was well over sixty years ago.

What was the reaction of the press this time? For once they could not find a communist-inspired plot. Neither could they call the men greedy, for even by accepted standards their pay rates compared unfavourably with outside industry. Neither were they lazy—an average of thirty hours overtime is worked every week to keep the mail moving. The papers, then, were "sympathetic," but still the cry was "don't strike."

Listen, for instance to *The Guardian* editorial of July 11th:—

While the writer of these latter words did not or could not say what this "something" should be, Socialists can, and consistently DO SO. They have the beacon light and the rallying parole for the mass of the people, the working class. It is: "Organize and vote for fundamental change of the present vile and imbecile social system, i.e., abolish the private ownership of the means of life, and establish the World Socialist Commonwealth!"

R. FRANK.

When arbitration is offered in a complex dispute about postal wages, it is hard to claim sanctity for the "right" to delay a nation's mails. . . . What can a woman waiting for a letter from her son do to give postmen more pay?

Or again *The Daily Telegraph* of July 23rd:—

Yesterday's decision by the executive of the Union of Post Office Workers that a complete strike will be called . . . constitutes a grave challenge . . . not only to the Government but also to the nation. . . . It must be evident by now that his (Mr. Smith's) union is entirely concerned with the best way in which it can sabotage the country's business, and so hold the country to ransom. Ransom is one thing, and proper wages quite another.

Not one word, you will note, about the delaying tactics of the government, of the offer of yet another "review" to follow the last "enquiry." Undeniably, it was the positive promise of a strike that forced the pay offer up to six per cent. No wonder *The Guardian* had to admit: "The plain fact is that the postmen do not trust the Treasury."

So postmen, you were "wrong" to come out on strike for a day and to threaten an all-out stoppage later on. But you got a pay increase. A good thing you did not heed the mealy mouthings of the newspapers, for you would then have been "right," but two per cent. worse off.

P.S.—The G.P.O. profit last year was £30.7 millions.

### What is Progress?

The Oxford Dictionary defines the term as: forward movement, advance, improvement, increase. But progress has also come to have another meaning in the modern world, and it is fashionable to equate it with change—any change.

Under this heading the apologists for capitalism would list the mounting volume of cars on the roads ("one for everybody who wants one" is the government's bleat), the advent of noisy jet aircraft, and the sprawling of the industrial towns into the once peaceful countryside. They would ignore the increasing noise, dirt and smell, the rush and tear of it all, and the frightful toll of frustration and nervous illness. Anything which kept capitalism moving fast and ex-



panding is, to them, progress.

It is hardly surprising, then, to hear the Belgian industrialist Baron René Boël talk about progress in terms of the profit motive. The Baron is president of the European League for Economic Cooperation, and his words are reminiscent of the views of some of the early capitalist economists. Speaking in Manchester on July 15th, he said:—

Just as the worker is entitled to payment, so the shareholder is entitled to remuneration for the services he renders both to the enterprise and the economy. An important part of the money he receives . . . is used to finance further economic and technical progress. Profit is today an essential factor in progress since it provides the means of achieving it and measuring it.

There is quite a lot that Baron Boël left out of his assessment, of course. He didn't tell us just what sort of payment the workers are entitled to. His ideas on that would no doubt differ markedly from those of workers. Neither did he go into the harmful effects of the profit motive on the mass of the population. Last but not least, he did not even hint at the ugly black war clouds which gather periodically as a direct result of this "progress." Had we taxed him with it, he would no doubt have muttered something about "human nature," or "communist plots" and left it at that.

The words of Baron Boël are only to be expected from a man in his position of social privilege, but he is not alone in his thoughts. Tragically, they are echoed by most workers every day of their lives. Our proposition of a classless, moneyless society is just as much anathema to them as it is to him.

#### Tory Competition

Tory propagandists are never tired of telling us how beneficial free competition is. They don't like state control they say, although they have made little effort to denationalise most of the nationalised industries. "Take the fetters off free enterprise and lower prices will result" is one of their rallying cries. Yet the years of Tory rule have seen considerable price increases.

Are the Tories really in favour of unfettered competition—just like that? Of course, they're not. The first and foremost task of any British government is to protect and advance the interests of British capitalism. This will certainly mean that they will try to make British industry more competitive on the world market, and generally moan about tariff barriers erected against it by other countries, although at the same time they erect the same sort of barriers at home. This is aimed at keeping the price of foreign goods up so that British goods of the same type are not at a disadvantage in the home market. It is known under the fanciful heading of "establishing stability."

One industry to suffer against foreign competition has been cotton, and it was only a few years ago that the government was paying out some thirty million pounds to induce some of the less efficient firms to cease production. Now, in a further attempt to deal with the problem, the Cotton

Board has produced a plan for a levy on imported cotton goods "which would bring their prices up to an agreed proportion of similar goods of domestic manufacture." This is proposed to replace the existing restrictions, which are due to expire in 1965. Secretary for Industry Mr. Heath is said to have agreed that "some means should be found of establishing stability in the industry"; the Board's plan has been published at his request.

What Mr. Heath is after is the continued

profitable existence of the British cotton industry. If that means paring down the threat from foreign rivals and keeping their prices up, then that is what will be done. It shows also that government interference ("guidance" they call it) will be used just as much by the Tories as by any other party, if they think the needs of British capitalism justify it. And then their talk of free competition and lowered prices will be quietly forgotten.

E. T. C.

## MEETINGS

### BASILDON, ESSEX

Three public meetings  
Ghyllgrove Community Hall  
(off The Gore), Basildon

Mondays, 8 pm  
September 14th & 28th  
October 12th

WELWYN GARDEN CITY  
Room 3, Community Centre,  
Mill Green Road

Thursday, September 10th, 8 pm  
LABOUR PARTY AND THE  
ELECTION  
Speaker: H. Baldwin

Thursday, September 24th, 8 pm  
CONSERVATIVE PARTY AND  
THE ELECTION  
Speaker: L. Cox

### WEMBLEY

Barham Old Court, Barham  
Park, Harrow Rd., Wembley  
Monday, 7th September, 8 pm  
FILM SHOW: THE GREAT WAR

WILLESDEN PUBLIC MEETING  
Anson Hall, Chichele Road, NW2  
(near Willesden Green Station)

Thursday, 24th September, 7.30 pm  
ELECTION PROMISES!  
REALITY OR MYTH?  
Speaker: R. Critchfield, J. D'Arcy

### STEVENAGE OUTDOOR MEETINGS

New Town Square, 3 pm  
Saturdays, 5th and 19th September  
and 3rd October

### ANNIVERSARY MEETING

Hammersmith Town Hall  
Wednesday, 16th September, 8 pm  
60 YEARS FOR SOCIALISM

TRAFALGAR SQUARE  
DEMONSTRATION, 3 pm  
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 13th

PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE  
Royal Oak, York Street, W1  
(near Marylebone Rd. and Tube)  
Wednesdays, 8.30 pm

2nd September  
60 YEARS BACK  
Speaker: Gilmac

9th September  
PROPAGANDA ON TAPE  
23rd September  
PUBLIC HEALTH  
Speaker: La Touche

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

Sundays  
Hyde Park, 3 pm and 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth  
September 6th & 27th, noon  
September 13th, 11 am  
September 20th, 1 pm  
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 pm

Mondays  
Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

Wednesdays  
Outside Charing Cross Tube Station  
Villiers Street, 8 pm

Thursdays  
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm  
Market Place, Bromley, 8 pm  
Earls Court, 8 pm  
Hyde Park, 8 pm

Fridays  
Earls Court, 8 pm

Saturdays  
Hyde Park, 7.30 pm

visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 8 pm 3rd and 17th Sept. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, W.C.1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm: 4th Sept. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel: BEX 1950) and 18th Sept. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Davenport Road, SE6.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (9th Sept.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Mondays 7th and 21st Sept. Room 3 Community Centre, Leigh-on-Sea 8 pm. Correspondence: A. Partner, 28 Hambro Hill, Raleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (7th and 21st Sept.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (9th and 23rd Sept.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence: D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Varnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 17 Dorset Road, N.22. Correspondence to: E. L. McKone at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (11th and 25th Sept.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens Eltham, SE9.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursday 10th and 24th Sept. 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAJ 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meetings from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly. Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*



**THE ELECTION**

"The Socialist Party of Gt. Britain will be contesting Bromley (London) and Woodside (Glasgow) in the forth-coming General Election."

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

**Your help is  
required, now!  
contact Lewisham  
and Glasgow  
Branches for  
information.**

Bromley and Glasgow members have been paving the way by hard work. You can help them by financing the campaign.

Contribute generously to the Parliamentary Fund SPGB, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4.

**BROMLEY**

Robert Wyte Hall, London Road

Friday, 11th September, 8 pm

**THE ELECTION**

Speakers: E. Grant, H. Young

Friday, 18th September, 8 pm

**PEACE AND SOCIALISM**

Speakers: D. Zuconi, W. Waters

Friday, 25th September, 8 pm

**POVERTY OF AFFLUENCE**

Speakers: E. Grant, P. Lawrence

**GLASGOW**

MacLennan Galleries

Sauchiehall Street

Sunday, 27th September, 7.30 pm

**THE COMING ELECTION**

Woodside Halls, Clarendon St.

Sunday, 4th October, 7.30 pm

**SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM**

Sunday, 11th October, 7.30 pm

**THE LABOUR & TORY FRAUD**

**SUNDAY 13 SEPTEMBER  
3pm  
ELECTION  
DEMONSTRATION  
FOR  
SOCIALISM  
TRAFALGAR  
SQUARE**

**60th Anniversary Meeting**

**Thursday 16 September 8pm**

**Hammersmith Town Hall**

**60**

**YEARS FOR SOCIALISM**

**Speakers: J. D'ARCY, H. YOUNG**



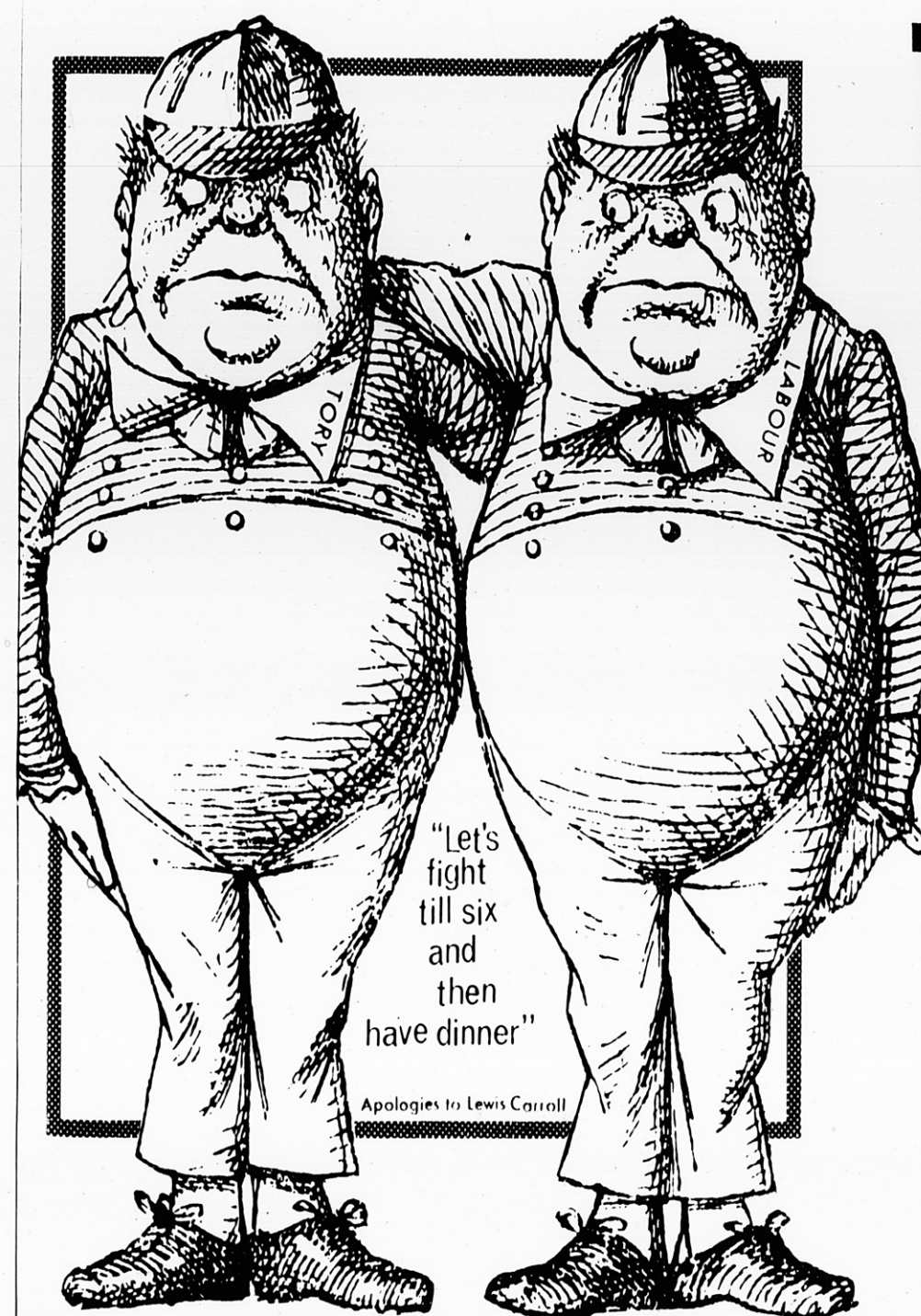
ELECTION SPECIAL

# Socialist Standard

Official Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland

## The issue

which should concern the workers of Britain in the Election is the abolition of Capitalism and the establishment of Socialism. Have no illusions about the sham fight between Tory and Labour. On the vital issues of the day they are one, both stand for Capitalism. The Socialist Party of Britain is for Socialism.



OCTOBER 1964 | 6d

No 722. Vol 60.



October 1964 Vol 60 No 722

# Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland



## SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

## WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting October 25th.

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# Tweedledee or 'dum

In the 1964 General Election, as in those of the past, the capitalist political parties have encouraged us to believe that fundamental issues are at stake.

This is far from the truth. The Labour and Conservative Parties are arguing over trifles—the fight between them is sham. On the vital issues of the day they are one.

This is reflected in many ways. It is reflected in the basic agreement in the parties' policies. It is reflected in the fact that, although each side presents its leader as a paragon of honesty, knowledge and strength, none of them take the fundamentally different stand of opposing leadership in principle.

Home or Wilson? Landed aristocrat or Grammar schoolboy made good? Amiable elegance or rumpled, chubby purpose? The voters are asked to make their choice between these two representatives of capitalism, on the assumption that leaders are necessary, because without them we poor dunderheads would lose our way in the treacherous maze of the wicked world.

It is not difficult to penetrate this sham. The most casual investigation of leaders past and present reveals them as hard, cynical men dedicated to the ruthless administration of the capitalist system. It also shows up the game of leadership as a dirty business.

Sir Alec Douglas-Home has recently joined in the game for whatever advantage his party can get out of it. On the other side Harold Wilson has shown that a leader's most valuable asset is a cold, professional determination.

It is no coincidence, and not entirely due to the General Election, that since Wilson became leader the Labour Party has kept its splits plastered over. So smooth has his political handling been that his public relations men are trying now to dispel the image of him as too clever, as the cocksure, calculating political climber.

There have been several books about Wilson recently. One, *Harold Wilson—The Authentic Portrait* by Leslie Smith (Hodder & Stoughton, 16s.)—relates the now familiar story of the boy prodigy, born into the "lower middle class," who rises to knock on the door of "Number Ten."

Young Harold quickly showed that he had a talent for politics. When he was seven he urged his parents not to miss voting for their Labour candidate—Philip Snowden. Is Wilson now satisfied that this advice was sound?

A few years later Wilson would calmly announce, when asked about his future, "I should like to be Prime Minister."

The rest of the story is familiar enough. War time civil servant, work with Beveridge, Labour MP for Ormskirk, junior minister and later President of the Board of Trade in the Attlee government.

It was from this post that Wilson resigned in 1951 over the level of armaments expenditure and the Health Service charges. This earned him Dalton's contemptuous description of "Nye's little dog." More accurate, perhaps, was the reporter who wrote of Wilson's resignation speech. "Mr. Bevan had ended with his boats ablaze. Mr. Wilson's boat carried fire fighting equipment."

The Wilson fire extinguisher has stood him in good stead, and his boat has floated serenely on, past many who started out before him.

Another book—*Harold Wilson, A Pictorial Biography*, by Michael Foot (Pergamon Press, 12s. 6d.)—tells the same story as Leslie Smith's, but in racier style. And, of course, there are the photographs and the cartoons.

These are worked hard to establish the Wilson legend. Mr. Wilson wiping the dishes; playing shove ha'penny with Attlee; holding up George Brown's arm at last year's Conference. Mr. Wilson with an old age pensioner, with Freddie Trueman, with Erhard, Khrushchev, Kennedy, Johnson. Mr. Wilson with the Beatles. And Mr. Wilson with his pipe. Always his pipe. A thin book, in content as well as size.

The fact is Harold Wilson has posed the Labour Party a considerable problem. How to reconcile the traditional, emotional and working class appeal of its past for what it called "Socialism," with its present wholehearted acceptance of the status quo? Like the Conservatives, Labour upholds the capitalist system and is a Party of opportunism without principles.

How, for example, to reconcile old notions still dimly held, about internationalism with Wilson's declaration to the 1963 Conference: "... we are a deeply patriotic party?" How to satisfy a few lingering ideas on common ownership with: "I've no prejudice at all against big business or industry... I am in favour of investment..."

Michael Foot answers these doubts by referring to Wilson "... skilfully combining the Socialist heritage with the new challenge." Leslie Smith less dramatically calls Wilson: "a highly disciplined professional politician."

And these are the men whom the working class are asked to vote for election—skilful, professional opportunists whose purpose is to secure the continued existence of capitalism. On all sides these men plead for our votes. But there can be no hope for the working class as long as they put their trust in leaders and support the capitalist system.

The issue which should concern the workers of Britain in the Election is the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of Socialism.

## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

### The Polls

Over the past few months, watching the so-called public opinion polls has almost become an obsessive national activity. Glassy, fascinated eyes have watched the graph lines of support for the two big political parties snaking up and down.

Even the Stock Exchange has reacted, becoming more optimistic as the forecast support for the Conservatives has increased.

The two big polls—National Opinion Polls in the *Daily Mail* and Gallup in the *Daily Telegraph* have differed in their assessments, NOP turning up figures more favourable to the government than Gallup. Both have agreed that the Tories have steadily gained ground.

Who knows what the polls are worth? Naturally, they protest their own accuracy; they are now big business employed by famous companies and advertising agencies to estimate what razor blades we use, what size washing machine fits into our kitchens.

In the political field, the polls have never really lived down their massive boob in the American Presidential Election of 1948, when Truman won against all their forecasts. They blamed that on to an unsuspected flaw in their method, which they now claim to have eliminated.

But none of them, of course, can interview an entire electorate and inevitably their sampling methods come in for some

criticism. When the election is over, the polls do some furious figure juggling and, not surprisingly, claim that their forecasts were accurate.

The political parties welcome or deride the polls, according to whether they are currently favourable or not. Some time back a constituency Conservative Party which was fighting a by-election suggested that the polls were undemocratic, because they actually influenced people to vote for the party which they tipped to win.

In that by-election, need we add, the Tories were doing badly—when the opposite is true they do not complain about the polls.

The whole thing is, in fact, a rather amusing game. And, like a game, it has no real effect. We can make one forecast now, without the aid of the polls.

Whichever of the parties wins the election, and whatever the composition of Parliament when the votes have been counted, capitalism will remain. It will be business as usual for everyone, including the pollsters.

### Restrictive practices

Sam Goldwyn has long been famous for his super-colossal films and for his snappy wisecracks. He has always been the newspapers' caricature of a Hollywood tycoon—expansive, ebullient. But now he is under something of a cloud.

The great Sam recently sold fifty of

his films for showing on television. Now everybody knows that the one word which is likely to make the cinema owners see red, in the most glorious, panoramic technicolor, is television.

So Mr. Goldwyn's sale is regarded by the cinema interests as a stab in the back or, as Mr. Ellis Pinkney, secretary of the Cinema Exhibitors' Association, put it, biting the hand that fed him. Goldwyn was not around when this remark was made; had he been, he would doubtless have made another funny crack in reply.

But the CEA are not joking. They are pressing all cinema owners in Britain not to show any more Goldwyn films. As they claim a membership of over ninety per cent of cinema owners, including Rank and Granada, their ban may well be effective.

Now the film industry was once famous for the demarcation rules which its workers' trade unions applied in the studios. These rules were strict; no carpenter would stick up so much as a square inch of plaster, no plasterer would knock in the smallest nail.

The employers complained bitterly about what they called these restrictive practices. They implied that the workers were childish, that the rules would ruin the industry and would deprive the public of their films.

In fact, the unions were using an old established weapon to try to defend some hard won improvements in working conditions. This may mean some tough fights, but that is the way it has to be.

## LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm and 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth  
Beresford Square, Woolwich, 8 pm

### Mondays

Lincolns Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

### Wednesdays

Outside Charing Cross Tube Station  
Villiers Street, 8 pm

### Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm  
Market Place, Bromley, 8 pm  
Earls Court, 8 pm  
Hyde Park, 8 pm

### Fridays

Earls Court, 8 pm



jungle of capitalism's class struggle.

And toughness, and restrictive practices, are not confined to one side. What the cinema owners are now going to do in their fight against Goldwyn can only be described as a tough restrictive practice.

Naturally, they try to justify it by using the same tones of moral indignation as they use when they attack the film workers' demarcation rules. But morality does not come into it.

Both sides are only trying to protect their interests and that is something that goes on all over the capitalist world. Even that part which is the preserve of the tinsel unrealities of the film men.

## Johnson's fortune

Nobody expects elections to be other than dirty businesses but sometimes, in their anxiety to throw mud the parties of capitalism achieve some strange results.

Consider the case of Johnson's fortune. The exact amount of the American President's wealth has become something of an issue in the election over there, so much so that Johnson has engaged a firm of accountants to report on the matter.

The conclusion of this investigation was that the Johnson family is worth about three and a half million dollars. This estimate has been questioned, because it is based on the original cost of the Johnsons' interests, whereas their present market value would be somewhere nearer \$14 million.

For some strange reason, this dollop of wealth is regarded as a possible elec-

toral liability to the President. The delusion about the barefoot boy who rose from log cabin to the White House apparently persists in the United States, even after all that the Kennedy family did to destroy it.

Yet why should his wealth lose Johnson votes? A rich man, after all, is capitalism's highest form of life—he is *successful*. Does not Johnson, therefore, fit in with the prejudices and presumptions which dominate elections? Is he not the sort of man the American workers would want as their national boss?

Perhaps there are doubts about the methods which were used to amass the Johnson fortune. And these, too, are humbug.

Even the most illegal ways of building up wealth—and there is no proof that the President has ever done anything outside the law—are no worse than the simple, legal method of the exploitation of the working class.

No method is more degrading, more repressive. No method leads to more violence and unhappiness. Property, Proudhon said, is theft and that is it up.

From this we can see that Lyndon Johnson is eminently suitable to administer American capitalism, with all the ruthlessness that it may require. He has also shown that he can accept, and turn to his advantage, any of the system's anomalies.

At the same time as his fortune was being counted, Johnson was pushing through Congress his so-called Anti Poverty Bill, which is supposed to rescue millions of Americans from the depths of destitution.

Perhaps some of them will get the point, and remember it when the time comes in November.

## Matter of importance

From the *London Gazette* of 1st September, 1964:

In future, on occasions when it is desired that decorations be worn invitations should state either "evening dress decoration" (signifying white tie with full orders decorations and miniatures) or "dinner jacket, decorations" (signifying black tie with orders decorations and miniatures as described above).

When "evening dress decorations" is prescribed those not in possession of full evening dress may wear orders decorations and miniature badges and medals as described above with a dinner jacket.

How comforting to know that, in this world of hydrogen bombs and hire purchase, of malnutrition and mental illness, there is still a spark of dignity.

How nice to know that the Queen, ever alert to the onward march of democracy, has graciously consented to unbend the once inflexible regulations on the wearing of decorations with evening dress.

What ease of mind it brings to us all, to know that "... orders, decorations and medals may be worn with dinner jackets ... with shirts having a stiff collar or soft collar."

What an uplift for the soft collar, to be put at last on a par with the stiff! How satisfying a fruition of human struggle and endeavour.

And how sick it makes you feel.

## THE BBC SAYS "NO" TO THE SPBG

On a number of occasions over the past few years, we have approached the BBC with a view to getting time on the air to state our point of view. Always we have been refused.

Again, just recently, we learned of a new programme series *Let Me Speak*, which the BBC is planning and which apparently is for the purpose of allowing minority parties to state their case. In all innocence we applied again, and what was the reply? That's right—No! Here is the text of the BBC's letter of August 10th:—

It was at no time intended that an opportunity should be given for the expression of all minority points of view in "Let Me Speak," and this would indeed have been impossible. The series aims to allow a representative cross-section of minorities whose views may be of interest to the British public a chance to air them. It has been made on the basis of those whose views are thought likely to be of most interest to the public, and at the present time there is no intention of adding to the list of groups chosen.

So the BBC will be the sole arbiter of what is "likely to be of most interest to

the public," and a unique and old-established minority party with a consistent and uncompromising viewpoint, does not seem to meet its requirements. After numerous efforts, it would be difficult to know just what else we have to do before the BBC drops its evasive attitude and grants us a few minutes of its precious broadcasting time. Perhaps we shall learn the answer when we hear some of the groups in *Let Me Speak*. Of one thing we may be sure; most of them at least will be nowhere near as well established and constant as the SPGB.

# ELECTION SPECIAL

## INTRODUCING THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The Socialist Party of Great Britain WAS FOUNDED in 1904. OUR OBJECT is the establishment of Socialism; a world-wide social system in which the means of wealth production and distribution (factories, mines, the land, railways, steamships, etc.) will be owned by the entire population of the world. WE ARE ASSOCIATED WITH our Companion Socialist parties in the U.S.A., Canada, Ireland, New Zealand and Australia. We have no connection whatever with any other political party or organisation.

WE OPPOSE every organisation which stands for capitalism, which includes the Labour, Conservative, Liberal, Communist, Independent Labour parties and many others. We oppose the wars which capitalism persistently throws up. We oppose political campaigns which appeal for votes on programmes of reforms (better housing, higher wages, etc.), which in fact do little or nothing to alleviate working class problems. We oppose Nationalisation, which is just another way of organising capitalism.

WE SUPPORT Socialism. Nothing less will do.

WE WORK for Socialism. We spread among the working class the knowledge without which Socialism cannot be established. OUR LEADER does not exist. Leaders are for the politically ignorant. The worker who has Socialist knowledge does not need a leader to interpret political affairs for him and to tell him what to do. There are, therefore, no leaders in the Socialist Party of Great Britain and we do not set out to become leaders of the working class.

WE RECRUIT Socialists and nobody else. We examine all applicants for membership to ensure that they understand what is entailed by being a Socialist.

WE APPEAL to the working class to examine the case for Socialism and to vote for our candidate only if they understand, and want, Socialism.

## Why we are contesting

WHENEVER there is an election the ordinary person, the man in the street—the working class voter—becomes suddenly very popular. Any number of political parties are anxious to please him and to make him all manner of tempting promises, if he in his turn will agree to vote for their candidate. Election time, in other words, is the time when there is an enormous hunt for votes—for your vote.

The bait which is used in this hunt is largely made up by promises. All the other parties offer this bait, and the generosity of their promises is usually in inverse proportion to the likelihood of their getting power. The Labour and Conserva-

tive Parties cannot be too extravagant; the Liberals can be a little more wild; the Communists can promise almost anything. And so on.

Most of the promises in this election are about things like modernisation, housing, education, pensions, wages and prices, war and peace. To read the literature of the other parties, it seems that all that has to be done to solve overnight all the problems connected with these issues is to vote for their candidate. They will all, it seems, bring British industry up to date, replace all the slums with new houses, give everyone a fair chance of the best education, increase pensions, keep prices stable while wages increase, banish war from the earth.

These promises sound very fine and in one election after another millions of working people vote for them. And presumably, when they do so, they think that they are contributing to the solution of our problems.

But let us stop and think about it.

Firstly, it is obvious that election promises are not a new thing. Political parties have been making them for as long as anyone can remember—and always about the same sort of problems.

Now what has been the result of all this?

The housing problem remains with us; despite repeated promises to deal with it, slums are developing faster than new houses are being built. For the workers, who depend on their wage to live, housing is still an aspect of their general poverty.

The sort of education we get is governed by the financial standing of our parents. Even if a working class lad wins his way to university he is only studying to become a different type of worker—one with a degree behind him.

Millions of old age pensioners are living on the tightrope of destitution—and it only needs something like a severe winter for many of them to loosen their precarious hold on life.

Prices continue to rise, as they have done steadily since the war. No government has yet given a free rein to the level of wages—they have all tried to restrain them. And whatever the respective level of prices and wages, we always find that our wage packet only just covers our food, clothing, entertainment and whatever else goes to keep us ticking over.

War is just as much a universal problem as ever. At the moment there are only comparatively minor incidents, punctuated by more serious clashes such as Cuba and Berlin. But over it all hangs the threat of another world conflict, this time fought out with nuclear weapons.

It is not accidental that the politicians make so many promises and that they have so little effect upon the ailments they are supposed to cure. The world is full of chronic problems, but this is not because political parties have not



thought up reforms which are supposed to deal with them nor because their leaders are not clever or knowledgeable enough.

The fact is that the problems persist whichever party is in power—and this suggests that their roots go deep into the very nature of modern society.

We live today in a social system which is called capitalism. The basis of this system is the ownership by a section of the population of the means of producing and distributing wealth of factories, mines, steamships, and so on. It follows from this that all the wealth which we produce today is turned out with the intention of realising a profit for the owning class. It is from this basis that the problems of modern society spring.

The class which does not own the means of wealth production—the working class—are condemned to a life of impoverished dependence upon their wages. This poverty expresses itself in inferior housing, clothes, education, and the like. In the end, it expresses itself in the pathetic destitution of the old age pensioner—a fate which no old capitalist ever faces.

The basis of capitalism throws up the continual battle over wages and working conditions with attendant industrial disputes. It gives rise, with its international economic rivalries, to the wars which have disfigured man's recent history.

Every other party in this election stands for capitalism, whatever they may call themselves. And whatever their protestations, they stand for a world of poverty, hunger, unrest and war. They stand for a world in which no human being is secure.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain, alone, stands for Socialism. We stand for a world in which everything which goes to make and distribute wealth will be owned by the people of the world. Because Socialism is the direct opposite of capitalism, it follows that when it is established the basic problems of capitalism will disappear. There will be no more war, no more poverty. Man will live a full, abundant life; we shall be free.

But Socialism cannot be brought about by promises. It needs a knowledgeable working class who understand and desire it. They alone can establish the new world order.

We recognise that the road to power lies through Parliament. At the moment, the number of Socialists is small and our resources are therefore limited; unfortunately, we can afford to run only a few candidates. But as the conscious desire for Socialism spreads among the working class we shall contest more and more constituencies, giving more and more workers the chance to vote for a world of abundance, peace and freedom.

## What is Socialism?

SOCIALISM will be a social system based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth, by and in the interest of the whole community. This definition was composed by the Socialist Party of Great Britain when it was formed in 1904. We have never altered it; not because we are stubborn and blind to changing conditions but because the word Socialism means the same today as it did in 1904—and as it will mean when Socialism becomes a reality.

Common ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution means that the things which are needed to make

and distribute wealth will be owned by the whole human race. At present these things are the land, factories, mines, railways, steamships, etc. But common ownership does not mean that everybody in the world will own an equal share of every factory, mine, railway train and the rest.

What common ownership does mean, is that there is one way in which all human beings will be equal. Everybody will have an equal right to take however much wealth they need and to consume it as they require. Because the means of production will be commonly owned the things which are produced will go into a common pool from which all human beings will be able to satisfy their needs.

Now if there is unrestricted access to wealth for everybody it must follow that nobody, in the sense of an individual or a class, owns wealth. This means that wealth will not be exchanged under Socialism; it will not be bartered nor will it be bought and sold. As a rough parallel we can consider the air we breathe. Everybody has free access to the air and we can all take in as much of it as we need to live. In other words, nobody owns the air; nobody tries to exchange air for anything else, nobody tries to sell or buy it. Similarly there will be no buying and selling under Socialism; no need for the complicated and widespread organisations which deal in commerce and banking in capitalist society. Socialism will have no merchant houses, no banks, no stock exchanges, no tax inspectors, or any of the paraphernalia of capitalism.

In a Socialist society wealth will be produced solely to satisfy people's needs and not for sale as it is today. Because of this there will be no deliberate variations in quality of wealth. Socialism will have only one quality. Whatever is produced will be the best that human beings are capable of. Homes, for example, will be designed and built with the only motive of housing human beings in the best possible style. The materials of which they are made, their facilities and location will all conform to this. They will be the best homes that society knows how to build.

Nobody will be employed by another person—nobody will sell his labour-power or work for wages. Everybody, in fact, will work for the whole of society. Work will be a co-operative effort, freely given because men will realise that wealth can only be produced by working—unless wealth is produced society will die. Yet it will not only be a reluctance to commit social suicide that will keep us working under Socialism. Men will be free—free from the fetters of wage slavery, free from the fears of unemployment, free from economic servitude and insecurity. Nobody will be found doing a job which he hates but tolerates because it pays him well. Healthy young men will not grow pigeon-chested over dusty ledgers. Nobody will waste his time learning how to kill scientifically. We shall be free to do useful work, making things which will add to society's welfare, things which will make human life a little better, a little happier.

There will be no war—the cause of war will no longer exist. This means that there will be no armed forces with their dreadfully destructive weapons. It means that the people who are in the armed forces, together with the rest of the enormous social effort which is channelled into them, will be able to serve useful, humane purposes instead of destroying and terrorising.

When production is only for human use we shall see a great development of society's productivity. First of all, an enormous number of jobs which are vital to capitalism will become redundant. Socialism will have no use for such jobs because its wealth will not be produced for sale. There will probably be statisticians to collect information about society's produc-

tive resources and to relate this to our needs. A lot of people will work at transporting wealth all over the world. These are useful occupations, just as all work will be.

Capitalism has veined the world with frontiers and has fostered patriotism and race hatred, none of which has any scientific basis. Frontiers are purely artificial and are often altered at international conferences. Many workers are proud of their nationality although in logic they cannot take pride in something over which they had no control. Socialism will

have none of this. No frontiers, no racial barriers or prejudices. The world will be one with only human beings working together for their mutual benefit.

Socialism will end the wasteful, fearsome, insecure world we know today. It will remove poverty and replace it with plenty. It will abolish war and bring us a world of peace. It will end fear and hatred and give us security and brotherhood.

## WHERE OUR OPPONENTS STAND

### The Conservatives

SINCE they came back to power twelve years ago, the Conservative Party have managed to popularise the idea that they are the party of prosperity. They also claim, like the other parties, to stand for the interest of the nation as a whole.

But can we sensibly talk of "The nation as a whole"? The economic editor of one well known Sunday newspaper recently wrote about "the fantastically unequal distribution of wealth"

and estimated that nearly one half of the total personal wealth in this country is owned by two per cent. of the adult population. This inequality is at the heart of the capitalist system—the system which the Conservative Party openly supports.

The Conservatives also claim to be the party of the small man, they talk of property owning and share owning democracies. In fact, however, their policy has been well described by Enoch Powell, one time Tory Minister of Health:

Does it pay? is the question which, quite unashamedly, we have to ask today of all our economic and commercial doings. Does this railway line pay—that coal mine, this shipping route? Does that industry in that place pay? (*The Observer*, 13/5/62).

This ruthless standard also applies to the small man; if his business does not pay, the Conservatives are prepared to see him go under.

It is difficult to understand how so many of those who suffer most from capitalism can find reasons to support the Conservative Party, which openly proclaims the basic capitalist doctrine that profit must come before human welfare.

Production for profit, which Mr. Powell and all Conservatives think is the most efficient and praiseworthy method, does not lead to one prosperous nation but rather to one prosperous capitalist class and to degradation and insecurity for the working class.

The workers have nothing more to expect from the Tories than what they get: unemployment, bad housing, pay restraint, insecurity. Tory ministers may describe these problems as personal, family difficulties, but in fact they are

the inevitable results of the class divided, privilege ridden social system which Conservatives so proudly support.

### Labour Party

BOTH the Labour and Conservative Parties tell you, in this election and at other times, that the Labour Party stands for Socialism. Both parties have different reasons for saying this but these need not concern us. What we are concerned about is to ask whether it is true that the Labour Party is a Socialist Party.

Socialism means a new social system, based upon the common ownership of the means of wealth production and distribution. All wealth under Socialism will be produced to satisfy human needs and not to make a profit. There will, in other words, be no such thing as investment under Socialism. Yet the 1953 Labour manifesto *Challenge to Britain* states clearly that:

The crucial problem facing the next Labour Government will be to stimulate a big increase in investment.

Socialism will have no national barriers, no separate countries each with their own mistakenly patriotic workers. Compare this with what Mr. Harold Wilson said recently:

Desire to restore Britain's standing in the world is a noble one, and one which we have been pressing for for years. We have been saying that Britain must lead (*The Guardian*, 2/12/63).

There will be no international trading rivalries under Socialism. These rivalries, which often lead directly to war, spring

### essential reading

The Case for Socialism	1/-
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA



from the basis of capitalist society. But Mr. Wilson wants:

... a specific preference in awarding (Commonwealth) contracts to Britain. . . In return, Britain should undertake to provide guaranteed markets for Commonwealth primary produce (*Daily Telegraph*, 5/5/63).

These statements are taken at random from a mass of evidence which proves that the Labour Party stands for capitalism and, as a British political party, represents the interests of the British capitalist class.

That is why, when they were last in power, they used troops to break strikes, developed the British H. Bomb, continued conscription into peace-time, put this country into the Korean war, and so on.

There is no point in pretending that millions of workers will not once more vote Labour in this election. But they should be aware that in doing so they are voting for capitalism—for war, for poverty, for unrest and insecurity.

## The Liberals

STRUGGLING to increase its political fortunes at this election will be the Liberal Party. Out in the wilderness for well over forty years, they have previous little chance still of forming a government. But this is not for want of trying; in recent years, their language has been that much more flowery than their Labour and Tory opponents, their promises that much wilder. For they are trying hard to raise

an image of the "new" Liberalism from the ashes of the old, and to convince workers that theirs is the best way of running British capitalism.

"Cut the past. Assess the present and prepare for the future," was the cry of Liberal leader Jo Grimond only about two years ago, and bearing in mind the Liberal record, this was certainly not surprising to hear. Here we have the party of peace lovers who supported both world wars; defenders of individual liberties who agreed with conscription; friends of the workers who smashed their strikes with troops; protectors of the little man, who built up their party funds by selling peerages to their big business backers. All this and more can be laid at the door of the Liberal Party of yesterday, when it was well and truly a powerful force.

## WHERE WE STAND

### Wages and Prices

OUR capitalist world is topsy-turvy and generally unpredictable. Bold indeed is the man who dares to say what things will be like in twelve months, or even twelve days time. Nevertheless, there are some things on which we can speak with

some certainty. We do not know which party is going to win this election, but whichever it is will have the question of wages and prices as one of its major preoccupations.

Wages are always a headache to employers and governments, and we do not have to look far to find the reason. If the manufacturer is to sell the goods which his workers have produced, he has to offer them at competitive prices, as high as the market will bear, but not so high as to leave the market to cheaper competitors. If wages increase too much his profit suffers, so he needs something to act as a brake on wage claims. Before the war the brake was there in the form of large unemployment, but this generally has been missing in the post-war years. As the purpose of capitalism is profit making, our rulers find themselves in a quandary.

Should they fight the unions over every wage claim? But that would mean bringing factories and transport to a standstill, at enormous cost in lost production and profits. So they have to try other methods, such as "wage freezing" under Labour and "wage restraint" under the Tories, both meaning the same thing. They will try to persuade the

workers to forgo, or at least reduce, wage increases "in the national interest." All sorts of arguments will be used in support of this line, all boiling down to the same theme. The less we have, the better off we shall be, even at a time when generally prices are rising.

But didn't they all say how much they deplored the rise in prices and promise to put a stop to it? Yet the Labour Government went out on a tide of rising prices, for all its controls. Who will forget the garish Tory posters up and down the country, telling us that they would succeed where their opponents had failed? We can see how little their promises were really worth. In fact, just like the Labour Party before them, they have given the nod to price rises by currency inflation, in attempts to offset wage increases.

As far as workers are concerned, the struggle for improved wages and conditions must be pressed at all times, regardless of price movements and government propaganda. The alternative under capitalism is a worsening of conditions—there is no such thing as "stability." But the only real solution is to replace capitalism with Socialism, which will mean the ending of both wages and prices and

instead the production of goods solely for the use and enjoyment of all.

## Housing

OUR politicians are constantly talking about it. The newspapers print loads of articles on it. The telly shows us heart-rending pictures of it. All as though it is something new, something that will soon be over and dealt with, given the right political party—Tory, Labour, Liberal.

They call it the housing problem.

But a hundred years ago and more they were talking about a housing problem. Far from being new, it's as old as capitalism, as old as the working class itself.

Let us go back a hundred years—to 1864. Hardly believable though it is, many of the houses that had already been standing for twenty or thirty years then are still with us now. Everybody has heard of Coronation Street—after whose coronation was it named? Not after George VI in 1937, nor after George V in 1910, nor even after Edward VII in 1901, but after Queen Victoria's in 1837. And in Salford they have only just got round to pulling down Waterloo Place, built in 1815 and named after the victory over Napoleon!

Today in this country there are more than one million houses—many probably worse than those in Coronation Street—reckoned to be unfit for human habitation. So low are the standards, anyway, that one million is certainly an underestimate.

In Glasgow, tens of thousands of people live three to a room.

In Liverpool there are 88,000 houses beyond any prospect of repair; in Birmingham 50,000 families are on the waiting list; whilst in Oldham it is estimated that no less than one house in four is unfit to live in. And in London, perhaps the worst area of all, many families of the homeless are reduced to walking the streets.

Our capitalist politicians all tell us, of course, how upset they are over the problem. The same as they were telling us years and years ago. Now the Labour Party reproaches the Tories for building only 300,000 houses a year: the Tories answer back and remind the Labourites that they have nothing to shout about because when they were in office they only once managed to get above 200,000!

But this does not stop them telling us what fine things they're going to do if they are elected. What truly wonderful promises they have given us over the

years! And still they have not even got to the stage of building enough houses to keep pace with those rotting away into slums, let alone starting to fulfil those high ideals they treat us to every time an election comes around.

Yes, there's a housing problem alright, the same one that has been with us for the past hundred and fifty years. And the capitalist political parties are just as far from getting rid of it today as they were then. Promises, we shall get promises galore. If words were bricks we'd all be living in palaces by now!

But they're not, and we shall still be hearing about the housing problem—the overcrowding, the million slums, the long waiting lists, the wandering homeless—when the next General Election comes round!

## Education

IN this election all other parties are making grandiose promises to improve education.

But anybody who wants the best education, for themselves or for their children, can get it now. There is, of course, a snag. It will cost about £370 a year, which is the price of sending a pupil to a typical public school.

The public schools give youngsters the sort of education which develops their abilities to the full. Only a minority, however, can afford to go to them. What about the rest?

For them, a state school where, as both the Newsome and the Robbins Reports have shown, the educational environment is unfavourable.

Why are there so many promises to improve education?

The *Times Educational Supplement*, commenting on the Newsome Report, said:

The need is not only for more skilled workers to fit existing jobs, but also for a generally better and intelligently adaptable labour force to meet new demands.

What these "new demands" are was indicated by the same periodical in their discussion of the Robbins Report:

The committee was impressed by the fact that plans for expansion (in Europe and America) often far surpassed present British plans.

In other words, education is being improved and expanded to provide workers with different skills from those of their fathers, so that British capitalism can compete more successfully with its foreign rivals. On this the Labour, Con-

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## Socialist Standard

THE JOURNAL OF THE  
SOCIALIST PARTY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN

Monthly 6d.

## Technology

A GREAT driving force in capitalism is competition. This often leads to the growing productivity that is a feature of the system. The fiercer competition becomes, the quicker is the pace of technological innovation and the more acute the need for scientific research. This is precisely the position today.

The growing competition which British firms are meeting in the world market has highlighted the need for various reforms if they are to remain competitive. These reforms are needed primarily in education and scientific research. The era of automation demands a higher level of skill and education among the popula-



tion than at present. Thus education and technical training must be improved and expanded.

But this is not enough. To be efficient and remain competitive a firm must invest in research. At present, however, few firms can afford the large outlay that this demands. In other spheres overlapping of research takes place. Here the capitalists' need is for some national organization to finance and co-ordinate research. This is why the "scientific revolution" has become an election issue. This is why both the Conservative Party and the Labour Party are emphasising the need for more universities, more science students, for better technical education in secondary schools, more research and other similar reforms. These reforms will come whichever party wins, for modern-

ization is the order of the day.

But what will this modernization mean for the majority of workers? Technical progress under capitalism always presents a threat to some jobs. The measure of a firm's efficiency at such times is the number of workers it can lay off. For the wages bill is a cost and costs must be reduced to a minimum if a firm is to remain competitive.

Many of the inventions which will result from this scientific revolution will be labour-saving, that is, job-killing. This means an increase, even temporarily, in redundancy. Old skills will be useless. The faster pace of machines will mean an increase in shift-working. It should not be thought that this threat is confined to factory workers. Computers and auto-

mation represent a threat to the jobs of thousands of managers, bank clerks and other white collar workers. All in all the total result will be the same old insecurity for all sections of the working class. This is the experience of American workers. It represents our future during the much-vaunted scientific revolution.

A trade union struggle against this threat will not be enough. Such a struggle, though necessary, can only be a rearguard action as everything favours capitalism. Something more than trade union struggle is required, namely, a political struggle to end capitalism. The Socialist Party offers a constructive alternative in Socialism. Only then will the fruits of scientific progress be used to satisfy the needs of humanity instead of, as at present, the greed of capital.

## THE SOCIALIST PARTY AND WAR

NOBODY in his right mind wants war. Yet so far this century, there have been two world wars and countless smaller ones—and the threat of another catastrophe hangs over us all the time. Such is the contradictory nature of our capitalist world that the very thing—peace—which everyone wants seems impossible to obtain.

But "peace" will be a promise you will find in every capitalist party election programme. All of them will undertake to have this as one of their chief goals and will assure you that only a vote for them will ensure real progress towards it. Never mind that they have supported previous bloodbaths and helped to send millions of workers to their deaths. Never mind, either, that to a man they insist on the need to retain armaments—in fact to refine and develop them to a terrifying degree. They say that these arms are for "defensive" purposes, of course (no weapons are ever for "offensive" purposes). Yes, they will tell you of their desire for peace just as surely as they are getting ready for the next war.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain has consistently opposed all war and has never ceased to point out its futility.

Despite the claims of the politicians, war has solved no working class problem. It cuts across the fundamental identity of interest of the workers of the world, setting sections of them at enmity with each other in the interest of sections of the capitalist class. Young men and women, in their most impressionable years, have the methods of warfare impressed upon them so that they are impregnated with the idea that force, and not reason, is the way to solve all problems.

The Socialist Party of Great Britain have maintained, against such reformist organisations as the C.N.D., that war has its origin in the capitalist system of society. Under capitalism the profit motive dominates production, causing competition for markets, trade routes, sources of raw materials, etc. War is in fact an expression of this competition in armed terms.

Socialism—the common ownership of the means of life—is completely opposed to war and to what war represents. At the same time it is the only solution to the conditions which breed war, because it is a society in which the people of the world will work together for their mutual benefit.

## LEADERS AND LED

ONE of the issues in this election will concern the personalities of the various political leaders. Many people will vote for the Labour Party because they like Mr. Wilson, or for the Tories, because they admire Sir Alec Douglas-Home. The assumption behind these votes is that, whoever the leader happens to be, it is necessary that *somebody* holds the job.

But is this true? There are innumerable leaders in the world today—political, religious, trade union, and so on—yet none of them is capable of doing anything about the world's problems. And this

applies equally to the leaders of the past, who spent a lifetime assuring people that they could do something about capitalism's ailments but died with the world in just as big a mess as ever.

In spite of this, the working class continue to put their faith in leaders. As one set fall from grace, the search is started for a new set and each time the searchers convince themselves that they have at last found the honest, consistent and capable men they would like to have at the top. They never, apparently, consider the proposition that all leaders are futile.

Leaders, in fact, exist by virtue of the ignorance of the people they lead. And the more emphasis is put upon the leader, the more gullible and unthinking are the followers. Yet what point is there in a

leader who has to listen to the rank and file? The ultimate logic of leadership is the dictator.

With political understanding, leaders are unnecessary. When the working class have grasped the nature of capitalist society, when they understand how it inevitably produces war and poverty and insecurity, they will be immune to the blandishments of aspiring leaders.

With knowledge the people of the world will understand the cause of capitalism's problems, and realise that they will only be solved by the establishment of Socialism. That will need, not leaders, but a consciously Socialist working class.

Until that happens we face the chaos and brutality of capitalism. When it does happen, there will be a world of happiness, freedom and plenty.

## WORLD OF WASTE

WE live today in a world of waste—a ludicrous waste of buying and selling; a criminal waste of war and preparations for war; a useless waste of ticket clipping, accounting, form-filling.

Only now and then does the utter stupidity of the whole futile business pull us up short and make us see things as if for the first time. We stand amazed at the way human beings can go on putting up with such a crazy world, so out of keeping with its real needs and interests.

When more than half the population of the world are going hungry and destitute, the British government will spend something like £2,000 million this year on what it likes to call "defence." The United States will spend more than ten times as much to the same end and no doubt the Russians will be doing the same.

Every country in the world reserves up to one-tenth of its total national wealth in preparing for war. Some of the weapons they make are obsolete before they actually begin to leave the factories, others even before they are off the drawing board. Many more are scrapped after they have seen only a few months service.

Probably no one will ever know the

full amount that has been spent by this country on its atomic programme, and the expenditure by other countries is equally shrouded in secrecy. That the sums are vast is certain.

When the Americans launched Colonel Glenn into space, it cost the staggering sum of £150 million. Britain has spent the better half of £1,000 million so far on rocket missiles. Even greater sums have probably been spent by the Russians, yet Khrushchev told the Russian workers only a little while ago that he hoped that by 1980 every Russian would be able to eat an egg a day!

We are so bemused by governments talking in these astronomical figures that they lose all significance. It takes a conscious effort to turn these vast numbers of pounds into such basic things as houses, oil refineries, washing machines, boots and shoes, bread and butter.

In these days when families roam the streets looking for somewhere to live, the productive resources represented by the £150 million spent on the Glenn circus could have built 30,000 houses (and we mean houses, not the glorified chicken coops which currently pass for them). For the same sum five times as many homes could have been provided with

good furniture to make them a pleasure to live in. Or perhaps a quarter of a million cars could have been built, or three million refrigerators, or ten million vacuum cleaners, or just a decent pair of shoes for every adult in the country.

Capitalism measures everything in terms of money.

These are the millions, the hundreds of millions, the thousands of millions of pounds, dollars, roubles, francs, marks, yen, and all the other currencies one can think of, that capitalism wastes each year. And this only in misdirected production—we leave out all the other ways in which human labour and resources are uselessly frittered away.

Translate all this vast accumulation of wasted wealth and labour into the worthwhile things of life and into the things that produce them—into houses and brick factories, into electricity and power stations, into food and agricultural machines, into clothes and spinning mills, into coal, oil, roads, railways, and ships.

Stop and think of all this when next you hear some glib politician talking at election time of the millions that are going to be spent on a new rocket, a bigger tank, a faster aeroplane, another atomic test.

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## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 8 pm 1st and 15th Oct. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm 2nd Oct. at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. BEX 1950) and 16th Oct. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, N5.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushy Green, Cuford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Co-op Hall, Davenport Road, SE6

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursdays 8th and 22nd Oct. 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (9th Sept.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Mondays 5th and 19th Oct. Room 3 Community Centre, Leigh-on-Sea 8 pm. Correspondence: A. Partner, 28 Hambro Hill, Raleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (5th and 19th Oct.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (8th and 22nd Oct.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 17 Dorset Road, N.22. Correspondence to: E. L. McKone at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (9th and 23rd Oct.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kamp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meetings from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly. Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

*The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.*

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

*Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.*

## The Passing Show

So this is the general election month at last. Probably by the time you read this, your letterbox will be bulging with the paper promises of all those who are desperate for your vote. For the first time in five years, you will *matter*.

But this moment is not something which has landed on us out of the blue, just like that. For some time we have known that the poll would take place in the autumn and the parties have been busy girding their loins for battle. Although you will now have the official election policies of them all, this does not mean that they have been silent these last few months. All sorts of people have criticised and promised to remedy all sorts of problems.

In June of this year, three books were published in the *Penguin Special* series. They are (as each jacket says) personal and unofficial statements, but they are interesting as an insight to the sort of thinking which characterises the main political parties. For instance, *Why Conservative* by Timothy Raison could quite justifiably be called "The Waffler's Handbook". The Tories have been in power for quite a long time and there's a fair chance of them winning again, so caution and circumspection—is the keynote of this book.

Politics, he tells us, is "... the search for power to achieve ends that the seeker considers desirable". He does not think that conflict in society is harmful; it may be "essential to creativity". The Tory Party apparently has "the masculine qualities of vigour, courage, independence, self-reliance and clear-sightedness". It "combines flexibility in policy with a firm psychological and emotional base". Meaningless, you would say? So would we, but this is the sort of stuff which you are asked to give serious consideration.

Nevertheless, if we thumb through this book, we can pick out some matters on which Mr. Raison commits himself more firmly. Did you know, for example, that distributed profits are good for the community (he doesn't tell us how), and that there is money to be made if only you will work for it?—that's an old chestnut if ever there was one. He makes no attempt to square this up later, when he admits the need for the welfare state to alleviate the worst aspects of poverty. For the usual commercial reasons, he doesn't like the welfare state becoming too embracing. Company medical schemes, he thinks, may be preferable, because they would cut down lost production time, and old age pensioners would cost less to the State if they lived at home instead of in institutions.

On foreign policy, we are treated to the same old story. The need for alliances, protection of British Capitalist interests abroad. But Raison cannot really make up his mind whether Britain should have nuclear weapons or not.

Now contrast this with *Why Labour* by Jim Northcott. His party has had thirteen years in opposition and his writing reflects their current optimistic mood. Not for him the restrained approach of Raison. He is much more detailed in his approach to the familiar problems of working class life, and makes no bones about the actions which he thinks a Labour Government will take, if only we will place our trust in them.

Housing comes early in his list of problems—shades of 1945—and once again we are assured it can be solved. Building Co-operatives, lower interest rates, more council houses, a land buying commission, spreading jobs more evenly; these are some of his suggestions. He admits that working class home ownership is not the unmixed blessing that some people think, involving as it does the worry of mortgage payments, repair costs, etc., but even this does not lead him to the obvious answer—production for use.

He is very proud of the National Health Services—"the envy of the world"—but opposes additional charges for prescriptions, forgetting that these were started by the last Labour Government. In addition, we are promised more hospitals, medical schools, preventive medicine, improved pay and conditions in hospitals, more trained social workers, and so on through the list. Name some fault or oppressive facet of the present scheme and you're almost sure to find that Mr. Northcott has an answer.

On education he is, of course, in favour of smaller classes and more university places. He puts the naive view that the object of education under capitalism is "to enable all to realise full potential" yet at the end of the chapter quotes the Economic Cooperation and Development Organisation's opinion "that higher investment in education is likely to yield a higher economic return than higher investment in industry". He admits the superiority of public school education but it is difficult to discern just what position he envisages for them under a Labour Government. Not that it matters overmuch. Most workers will never get the chance to send their children to public schools anyway.

We are guaranteed plenty of all the good things of life. How are they to be

paid for? Why, by taxing the rich more heavily and "spreading the burden more fairly". But that the rich will still be rich enough to pay is an essential prerequisite and one may be sure that a Labour Government, no less than any other, will see that they *stay* rich.

The cry for increased exports figures prominently in Mr. Northcott's reckoning. He is at one with the other parties on this. But, of course, the exports must be "planned" and imports "controlled". In fact this particular chapter (No. 8) is simply loaded with plans of every sort, including steel, electricity, research and manpower. Which only goes to emphasise just how unplannable capitalism really is. Mr. Northcott has not grasped this lesson, despite the record and experience of the last Labour Government.

*Why Liberal?* You may well be tempted to ask that again when you have read the last of these three, written by Harry Cowie. With many years of wilderness behind them and not much chance of forming a Government this time either, the Liberals can afford to be the sauciest of the three outfits. Mr. Cowie's book is positively encyclopaedic in the quantity and scope of his promises. Right away, we note that the Liberal Party is the classless party, so everyone must benefit from their proposals.

If you return the Liberals, Mr. Cowie expects them to:—modernise the Government machine, stimulate economic growth, replan our cities and stop the Southward drift, solve the housing problem (yes again!), improve transport and solve the traffic problem, have a ten year educational development plan, greatly increase old age pensions and abolish the earnings rule.

Surprisingly he gives profit sharing only a brief mention but thinks that employees should be allowed representatives on directors' boards, as a recognition of the "common interest of both sides". But the workers would still be workers and the bosses would still be bosses. That much is painfully obvious from the rest of this chapter.

Mr. Cowie wants a "new partnership with Western Europe" as part of a Liberal foreign policy and quotes the words of former Liberal Leader Clement Davies, that the common market is "the greatest step towards peace which has ever been taken". He doesn't tell us how or why, and anyway the stupidity of such a statement is apparent when later in the chapter he enters into the usual discussion on nuclear and conventional arms. As a sign of his confidence in the peace-

[continued bottom next page]



# Full employment, slumps and other questions

Dear Sir,

An article published in the *Socialist Standard* in January of this year posed a question with its title, namely "Are you better off?" Unfortunately, however, the article does not provide any definite conclusion.

The article does however concede that the average increase of the purchasing power of take-home pay is probably about 10 per cent.

"In the meantime, owing to more than proportionate increases of pay deductions from pay (national insurance and income tax), the average increase of the purchasing power of take-home pay is not the 18 per cent of the two indexes would show (wage rate index and retail price index) but something less, probably about 10 per cent *Socialist Standard*, page 9, January 1964."

It might also be pointed out that the present alleged standard of affluence that many of the working class are at present living at is dependent on their wives going to work in order to augment the family budget. But, notwithstanding, this and other factors such as the tremendous growth in hire purchase commitments, it is difficult to deny that the worker of today is better off if fully employed, as the vast majority are at present, than his counterpart was when unemployed in large numbers before the Second World War, particularly in the slump of 1929. In case it should be asked why one should compare the lot of a fully employed worker to that of an unemployed one in the pre-war period the answer is that millions were unemployed then, and relatively few are unemployed now. The article in question gave four columns of figures, one of which gave the number of unemployed of 1938 when it stood at 1,927,000. The column next to this gives unemployment as a percentage of 1938, this year being taken as 100 per cent. If these figures are accurate, then we may conclude that unemployment has not reached 50 per cent of this level since 1938.

On this aspect of the problem the article in your journal is significantly silent. In fact I think it would be true to say that the *Socialist Standard* has failed to account for this continuing full employment since the end of the war and does not even find the subject worthy of discussion in its columns. May I therefore ask the following

[The Passing Show, concluded]

ful influence of the Common Market, he is in favour of the British forces in Germany being increased to four fully equipped divisions.

You could almost ask: What is there to summarise? There is a choice of sorts, if you like, between three variations of the same theme—capitalism. It does not matter which one you make from the point of view of solving your problems—they will still be there whichever leader is called to Buckingham Palace. Why Conservative, Labour or Liberal? Why indeed!

E. T. C.

questions?

(a) Why in your opinion has the slump which you maintain is an essential feature of capitalism failed to appear in England?

(b) Why has there been no slump of the magnitude of 1929 since the war.

(c) Are the present conditions of full employment, increasing the membership of your organisation and the sales of the *Socialist Standard*.

(d) Do you think the orthodox economists using ideas of the late Maynard Keynes have found a way of preventing widespread and profound slumps of the pre 1938 variety and if not how do you account for this rather prolonged period of full employment?

I am, yours etc.

T. LAWLOR.

REPLY

Our correspondent comments on the fact that, compared with pre-war years, the position of the workers has been affected by the decline of unemployment and the increased number of married women who go out to work, as well as by the rise of average wages in relation to prices. This was referred to in the article, where it was pointed out that total wages are about five times what they were in 1938, "mainly because of the decline of unemployment and the fact that far more married women are now out at work".

Whether this last factor can be regarded simply as a gain is another matter. In the nineteenth century the need of married women to work was commonly regarded as a disadvantage by those who studied its consequences.

If however it is a fact that most workers now are rather better off than before the war, this kind of development is not a new thing. Frederick Engels noted in 1885 that since 1844, when he wrote his *The Condition of the Working Class in England*, the factory workers had become "undoubtedly better off", and the condition of engineers, carpenters, joiners and bricklayers, organised in the trade unions, "had remarkably improved". (See *Preface* to 1892 Edition).

In the same *Preface* and in the 1886 *Preface* to *Capital* Engels then went on to state a position which events proved to be wrong. He had concluded, because of the length and severity of the depression, that British Capitalism would never resume its expansion and that "either the country must go to pieces or capitalist production must". He thought unemployment was bound to increase year by year and that shortly, "the unemployed... will take their fate into their own hands".

Profiting by Engel's mistakes the SPGB reached the conclusion (one indeed that Marx and Engels had themselves seen) that the achievement of Socialism calls for understanding on the part of the workers and cannot be the outcome of discontent and despair without understanding.

Our correspondent accepts rather too easily the claim that there has been "continuing full employment since the end of the

war". In the column of figures to which he refers in the January *Socialist Standard* it is shown that since the war unemployment has ranged from 302,000 in January 1956 to 861,000 in January 1963. This latter figure may not be high by pre-war standards but it certainly cannot be described as "full employment". Allowance ought also to be made for the fact that unemployment will have been increased in the nineteen thirties by the big flow of migration into this country. In post-war years up to about 1960 the net flow was outwards.

Against that background we can answer the specific questions.

(a) For this question it is necessary to take care about the use of words. If by "slump" our correspondent means only a "heavy slump" like that of the thirties, the answer is that such heavy slumps are not an essential feature following each capitalist crisis.

What we had as an essential feature of capitalism is, to quote the words used by Marx in *Capital*, Volume I, Chapter XV, Section 8:—

The life of modern industry becomes a series of periods of moderate activity, prosperity, over-production, crisis and stagnation.

The crises, that is the sharp interruptions of booms, have continued to happen in the post-war years. For example, the index of production in January 1963 was down to 108, after having reached 120 in January 1961. If in post-war years, the ensuing "staginations" have not been heavy and prolonged this is in line with the experience of crises in the nineteenth century. Most of these crises were not followed by heavy prolonged slumps. The outstanding big ones were in the eighteen forties, the eighteen eighties (the one that threw Engels off-balance) and the nineteen thirties, and in between there were depressions that were not heavy or prolonged.

(b) Among the reasons why heavy depression existed in the nineteen thirties and not in post-war years in this country (experience of some other countries has been markedly different) is the absence of a very important factor which existed then. This is the pre-war feature of crisis-dislocation, superimposed on the long-term decline of some very big industries, agriculture, coal and cotton without the counter effect of strongly expanding new industries. In post-war years, along with a much larger Civil Service, large armed forces and armaments industry, there has been expansion of building (helped by war-time destruction and stoppage of building), man-made fibres, electricity and electrical engineering, motor car and aircraft manufacture, television, chemicals and oil, electronics and nuclear power.

(c) If this question means has low unemployment since the end of the war been accompanied by a continuous increase of membership, etc., the answer is no; but we would not expect increase of membership to be determined by low unemployment any more than the heavy unemployment of the thirties had that effect. Other factors also

come into it.

(d) This question relates to the supposed ability of governments to prevent widespread and profound slumps by means of the techniques associated with the late Lord Keynes. It will put the matter into perspective to point out that also before 1935 (the year Keynes's major work appeared) there were, between the heavy slump, long periods without heavy slumps.

If it is claimed that Keynesian techniques give Governments effective control over capitalism why did unemployment rise to 861,000 in 1963? As all governments have at their disposal these same techniques, and numerous economists who approve of them, why have many countries had heavy unemployment for prolonged periods since the war, among them U.S.A., Canada, Ger-

many, Italy, Belgium and Denmark? In Italy unemployment ranged between 1½ and 2 million for 10 years after the war. During this year unemployment has been at the 6 per cent level in Canada and U.S.A.

How have the techniques supposed to have worked? The Keynesians claim that the Government can, when it likes, stimulate capital investment and consumption and at other times damp down over-expansion. When the present motor car boom slackens off as it certainly will, what can the government do, if the world market for cars is temporarily saturated, except wait for demand to recover? Theoretically the government could have prevented the industry from expanding so rapidly—and left the market to be filled with the cars of other producers—but the car manufacturers, the

## ATROCITIES IN WAR

One of the most laughable spectacles of the day is the universal outcry about what our innocent masters and their saintly hirelings of the Press and pulpit are pleased to call the "atrocities of the Huns." Mark! it is not here denied that there have been appalling outrages committed by the Kaiser's hosts. That is not the question with which we are at the moment concerned. It is the capitalist hands upheld in horror, and the round-eyed astonishment of our good, kind masters, that engage our amused attention.

On the West Coast of Africa is a large tract of country called the Congo Free State. Unfortunately for the inhabitants of that country it was found that in the great forests of the region there grew abundantly the trees from which rubber is obtained. As usually happens when white men discover defenceless natives in a country whose virgin forests are rich in rubber trees, the aborigines were enslaved and compelled to gather the rubber for their white masters.

The particular case of the Congo Free State formed the subject of a British enquiry by Commissioner Casement, whose report disclosed atrocities more villainous, if that were possible, than anything which has yet been charged against the Germans in Belgium.

The sickening details it is not necessary to more than touch upon. Terrorism was the foundation of the Congo system of exploitation. How the feet of natives were cut off because the amount of rubber they collected did not (as indeed, it never could) satisfy the greed of their masters; how the unfortunate blacks were suspended over slow fires and roasted to death; how a country was devastated in order to pile up wealth for foreign invaders: all this can be read elsewhere by those whose memories need refreshing.

To pile up wealth for whom? For Germans? Oh no! for Belgians. If the German "culture" found its expression in the stark outrages of the smiling plains of Belgium, Belgian "culture" asserted itself in the blood-reeking shambles of the Congo

rubber fields.

It is not only the Belgians, however, who have proved themselves to be quite the equals of the Germans in the matter of per-petrating outrages that "stagger humanity." In this respect Russia is so notorious that it is hardly necessary to do more than whisper the name. How the Press of the world rang, a decade or so ago, with the infamies that made the names of the Tzar and his Cossacks stink in the nostrils of men!

France, also—democratic, chivalric France—has her gobbeted pages of history. The Massacre of St. Bartholomew is a classic example of foul treachery and degraded brutality that will stand so long as dastardly human deeds find a recorder at all. The history of Paris, however, bristles with shameful atrocities, among which it is sufficient to instance—not the suppression, don't think it was that—but the bloody vengeance wreaked upon the workers of Paris for the Commune of 1871. After the fighting ceased 30,000 working men, women, and children of Paris were butchered in cold blood, while the conditions under which those were interned who were to be transported to New Caledonia are too revolting to be printed here.

Nor is Britain herself above the perpetration of atrocious outrage, both at home and abroad. The Boer War furnished examples enough, in spite of official whitewash. The Boer general, Beyer, has just stated that every Boer farmer's house was a Louvain, and Smuts, with all his fervent turn-coat patriotism, could not deny the statement—he could only endeavour to draw the curtain over it.

The history of the British rule in India, where famine has succeeded famine, and multitudes have sunk down in their wretched hovels and died of starvation whilst their white masters were exporting the grain Indian people had grown, puts Britain on a level with any Huns, ancient or modern.

From the *SOCIALIST STANDARD*  
October 1914.

trade unions and the Tory and Opposition M.P.'s would all have protested.

Now that the Southern Rhodesian tobacco industry has been hit by falling prices following a bumper crop, how can Keynes help them? The producers are in fact turning to another and older technique, that of restricting production.

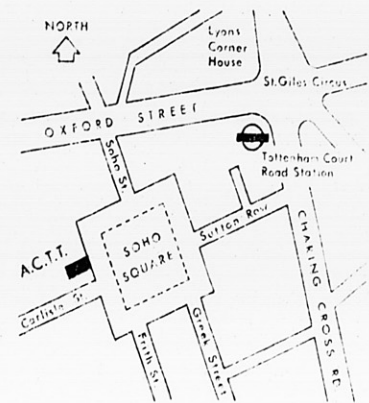
Of course it long ago ceased to be true that Keynesian doctrines were held only by the unorthodox minority. They had become the orthodoxy of large numbers of economists and members of governments. Now fashion is changing again and Keynes comes under increasing criticism. It would seem that his theories have not proved, even to his admirers, to be the panacea they were claimed to be.

EDITORIAL COMMITTEE

## MEETINGS

### BLOOMSBURY LECTURES

Asquith Room, ACTT,  
2 Soho Square, W1  
Sundays 8 pm (doors open 7.30)



18th October  
**CONSEQUENCES OF THE  
GENERAL ELECTION**  
Speaker: R. Critchfield

25th October  
**THE SOCIALIST PARTY & WAR**  
Speaker: E. Hardy

1st November  
**ART AND SOCIETY**  
Speaker: C. Devereaux

8th November  
**FOOD AND POPULATION**  
Speaker: C. May

**WEMBLEY**  
Barham Old Court, Barham Park,  
Harrow Road, Wembley  
Mondays 8 pm

5th October  
**15th CENTURY POLITICS**  
Speaker: L. Dale

19th October  
**EDUCATION! FOR WHAT?**  
Speaker: K. Knight



# Bromley and Woodside Election Campaigns

## BROMLEY

Prospective Candidate: E. GRANT  
Election Agent: I. ROBERTSON

At the time of going to press Committee Rooms have to be obtained, and we cannot give an address. There will be plenty of work for members and sympathisers. Full details phone MAC 3811 or Farnborough (dial FN) 51719

### Meetings

## ROBERT WHYTE HALL

London Road, Bromley

Thursday 1st October, 8 pm

## THE SOCIALIST CHALLENGE

All candidates invited to state their case against the SPGB

Friday 9th October, 8 pm

## WHO NEXT— TORY OR LABOUR?

Speakers: E. Grant, E. Hardy

Tuesday 13th October, 8 pm

## LET'S GO FOR SOCIALISM

Speaker: E. Grant

### An Appeal

Now is the time for all good men and women to come to the aid of the Party, but whether you are "good" or "bad" the issue is not a moral, but a financial one, so please come to our aid. We need £500 more to finance our Election Campaigns in the two constituencies of Woodside Glasgow and Bromley, Kent, and this sum can only be obtained from our members and supporters. Many of you who read our journal are glad to be considered as Socialists and do good work by putting the case to your friends and acquaintances. But how many of you do so without ever making a contribution to the funds? (All members pay 26/- per year as dues and most pay much more in one way or another.) Therefore if you are pleased and proud enough to associate yourself with the Socialist point of view please further assist in this vital task by sending a donation and thus support the work we are doing in this election and give heart to those in the field. Donations to E. Lake, Treasurer, The Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52, Clapham High Street, SW4 and thus be on the only Band Wagon worth jumping on. You mean to do so? Good, well do it now or you might overlook it and then certainly regret it.

PHYLLIS HOWARD,  
Party Funds Organiser

## WOODSIDE

Prospective Candidate: R. VALLAR  
Election Agent: V. VANNI

Throughout the campaign outdoor meetings will be held. Literature has to be sold and the Election Special delivered to electors. All members and sympathisers should contact Branch headquarters, 163a Berkeley Street, Glasgow, C3

### Meetings

## WOODSIDE HALLS

Clarendon Street

Sunday 4th October, 7.30 pm

## SOCIALISM OR CAPITALISM

Speakers: R. Vallar, R. Donnelly

Sunday 11th October, 7.30 pm

## THE LABOUR AND TORY FRAUD

Speakers: R. Vallar, R. Shaw

### "THEY SHALL NOT WANT"

We watched the crippled war veteran, a pathetic parody of a human being, struggle up the narrow Cornish street. A worn-out accordion, strapped to his chest, lurched dangerously as he limped along, and a battered trumpet gleamed in his hand. Although the ragged old coat barely covered him, he proudly wore his medal-ribbons on the front of it. This, then, was what he had to show for his war service: a mutilated body and a few worthless ribbons.

In contrast to the warm summer day, I considered what the gloomy history of this individual must be. Having gone off enthusiastically to fight the "enemy", he had discovered that on his return home he was not given the hero's welcome re-

served for the generals. As a cripple his wealth-creating capacity was destroyed, and, being no more use to his masters, he had been thrown aside like a broken lamp-bulb.

The tragedy is that this must have happened all over the world. In Germany and Italy, as much as Britain, men went home disabled after fighting for the interests of their capitalist masters. And instead of gratitude for their suffering they found only indifference and rejection.

And what of those more fortunate than this old cripple, the soldiers who escaped injury. Were they any better off on their return home? Sadly, no. "Their" country, they found, still belonged to the privileged ten per cent who did not have to work to live. The armed war had only been replaced by the economic war. Members of the working class of all

countries had found that after five long years of fighting for something better, there was still the same struggle to get a job, to keep it, and to make a week's wages last a week.

But have we learnt anything, since the last war, about the needless suffering of people like this disabled old man? Has the working class recognised that it has no interest in wars which are caused by conflicts between different groups of capitalists? Has it realised that the only answer to the problems of poverty and insecurity is a Socialist world in which wealth would flow abundantly?

Asking myself these questions, I noticed the old cripple had stopped at a suitable spot and begun to play his accordion. The notes came out, irregular and uncertain "The Lord's my shepherd," he gasped, "I shall not want."

KEITH GRAHAM.



# Socialist Standard

Official Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland

## A STRETCH OF HARD LABOUR

page 175

November 1964 6d



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desiring enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 8 pm 5th and 19th Nov. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm 6th Nov at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. BEX 1950) and 20th Nov. at 32 Ickleton Road, Mottingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherston Road, NS.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushy Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Co-op Hall, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Thursday 5th and 19th Nov. 7.30 pm Room 3, The Community Centre, Mill Green Road, Welwyn Garden City. Correspondence: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand, Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

SOCIALIST STANDARD NOVEMBER 1964

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (11th Nov.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.) Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Mondays 2nd 16th & 30th Nov. Room 3 Community Centre, Leigh-on-Sea 8 pm. Correspondence: A. Partner, 28 Hambro Hill, Raleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (2nd and 16th Nov.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (12th and 26th Nov.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Varnecke, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 17 Dorset Road, N.22. Correspondence to: E. L. McKone at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (13th and 27th Nov.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale, Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kemp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Merstham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meetings from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate, Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly. Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

November 1964 Vol 60 No 723

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party  
of Great Britain and the World  
Socialist Party of Ireland



### SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting November 22nd.

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## A stretch of hard labour

The noise and the ballyhoo are over for the time being, and another Labour government has scraped into power. The opinion pollsters can sit back with a sigh and claim vindication for their sampling methods, while Tory ex ministers can take the rest which, some of them have been unkindly hinting, their colleagues need so badly.

There is not much doubt that under Wilson's leadership the Labour Party has managed to paper over some of the cracks between its various factions and fight generally as a well planned and disciplined force. By comparison, the Conservative morale sank lower as the campaign went on and the foolish remarks of such political clowns as Quintin Hogg must have been like so many plums dropping right into the Labour leader's lap.

Just like their Tory and Liberal opponents, the Labour Party fought the election on a mass of promises: promises to solve the problems which they promised to solve when they last rose to power nearly twenty years ago. Housing and health, pensions and peace, education and unemployment, all those things which workers are so sensitive about, were given a merciless hammering by Labour spokesmen up and down the country. It was an astute campaign, and it just succeeded.

But now that the pendulum has swung a little, let us ask ourselves how much Wilson's promises are really worth. Does he really stand much chance of remedying the countless ills which so many politicians before him have failed to remedy? *The Guardian* of October 12th called him "a man with a heart full of indignation and humanity" but what will they call him when we get the multitude of excuses when his government fails to deliver the goods? We have had excuses from the Labour Party before. We had them in 1924 and again in 1931, when they blamed their failures on to the lack of a working majority. Will they try the same line this time, when their majority is so small? Let us prick that particular balloon before it leaves the ground. The Labour Party have taken power in the full knowledge of their standing in Parliament. They say that they intend to give "strong" government and to carry out their full programme. They are confident now. Let them remember this when the time comes for apologies and excuses.

In fact, the evils from which we suffer, and which political parties are always promising to cure, spring directly from the very social system of capitalism which statesmen seek to administer. In a world of minority ownership of the means of life and the production of goods for profit, it is inevitable that the non-owning majority will be the ones to suffer, in spite of all the politicians' promises.

The Labour Party does not want the abolition of this setup. However much Wilson may prattle about "government of the people, by the whole people, and for the whole people" the fact remains that his government will administer British capitalism in the only way open to them—in the interests of the British capitalist class. Take a look at the salient points in Labour's election programme. Up with production, increase exports, reduce imports, make British goods more competitive, work harder and keep wages in check. No capitalist would seriously quarrel with such a policy, and it does not differ in essentials from those of the other two parties.

Under the new Labour government, then, it will be very much business as usual for the ruling class—and for the man in the street as well. Workers will still have to struggle to make both ends meet amidst the increasing strains of a competitive world. They will have to put up with the inferior standards associated with working class existence, and when they come out on strike, they will be opposed just as much by Wilson as they have been by Home. That much we can gather from the Labour leader's words only two days before the poll, when he promised "much tougher action" from his government in dealing with such matters as the London Underground strike.

And just as surely the real issue—capitalism or Socialism—will still be as urgent as ever. The Socialist Party of Great Britain will continue to draw attention to it.



## ABROAD

## China's Bomb

Sir Alec Douglas-Home always stood up for an independent British nuclear armoury on the grounds that it gave the British capitalist class a place at the top negotiating table.

There may be something in this. The disputes of capitalism are finally settled by force, or by the threat of force—even when the amiable, wise-cracking Lord Home was Foreign Secretary. It is reasonable to suppose that the power with the biggest bomb will be the power with the biggest say in international affairs.

That is why the three first nuclear powers once hoped to keep the Bomb's secret to themselves, so that world capitalism was an orderly affair of just two big power blocs with Britain as a buffer between them.

This was a forlorn hope. Many other nations have been trying to develop their own bomb. The French were the first to succeed and now, in spite of a certain amount of hindrance from Russia, it seems that China has also arrived as a nuclear power.

The top table is getting rather crowded. The prospects are that it will get more crowded still. The Indian government, which always reserved the right to reconsider its original decision not to manufacture nuclear weapons, greeted the news that China had the Bomb with the announcement that India could also develop one if it wanted to.

All of this should please those who hold the theory of the deterrent, because the more nations that get the Bomb the more they can all frighten each other into peaceful intentions. Or is the opposite true?

In fact, wars are not caused by armaments, or by the lack of them. Capitalism is like a jungle, with any number of competing nations clawing and savaging each other in the ruthless struggle for advantage.

No humane considerations, no moral concepts, come into this. A government will coldly take the decision to manufacture a weapon which it knows is capable of literally atomising tens of millions of people in the blink of an eye. And having so decided, the members of the government will go home placidly, play with the dog, bath the baby and themselves sleep innocent sleep.

There is no sanity in this. To the requirements of property society, the human race is deliberately making the

means of perhaps wiping itself out.

Capitalism marches on. It expands into places where it has not been before. It develops its productive abilities in fantastic leaps and bounds. At the same time it deprives, exploits, degrades and terrorises its people to an undreamt of intensity.

## POLITICS

## Immigration

Today the Communist Party is posing as the friend and champion of the interests of the immigrant worker. But, as with most other matters, it has not always taken up this position. Seventeen years ago, for instance, the Communist Party was engaged in an anti-Polish campaign. In 1947 the two Communist members of the House of Commons were continually asking questions about the Poles in Britain. Some of the comments then made by Willie Gallacher indicate the level to which the Communist Party was prepared to stoop. On February 4, 1947, the following exchange took place during question time:

MR. LENNOX BOYD: Is it not a fact that the vast majority of Poles are desperately seeking employment in this country?

MR. GALLACHER: Let them get employment in their own country. (*Hansard*, Vol. 432, Col. 1555.)

On July 29 again:

VICE-ADMIRAL TAYLOR: Can the right hon. gentleman give us an assurance that none of them will be forcibly sent back, and can he tell us how many have refused to accept work?

MR. BELLENGER: I cannot give an assurance of that kind, but these Poles cannot remain on British benevolence indefinitely.

MR. GALLACHER: We do not want them. (*Hansard*, Vol. 441, Col. 251.)

In the same year the Communist Party published a book by their leader, Harry Pollit, under the title *Looking Ahead*. In here we read:

I ask you, does it make sense that we allow 500,000 of our best young people to put their names down for emigration abroad, when at the same time we employ Poles who ought to be back in their own country, and bring to work in Britain displaced persons who ought also to be sent back to their own countries? We want our own workers to have confidence in their own land, to take a pride in building it up. (p. 72.)

Who was it said, "the working men have no country?"

## BUSINESS

## Dahlia affair

Could there be anything less offensive than a dedicated dahlia grower?

Just listen to his endless talk of ray and disk florets. Look at those sensitive, earthy hands caressing the prize blooms. A very perfect gentle chap, it seems.

Yet behind that placid exterior lurks a desire to undermine the basis of society. What happened when dahlia growers in the Midlands organised a cheap air trip to the United States?

Why, they invited other dahlia fans to go as well and if that is not subversive, antisocial and plain criminal, what is?

Fortunately, virtue triumphed. The Midland Dahlia Society booked their flight with B.O.A.C. but they broke the rules of the International Air Transport Association (IATA) when they advertised it as open to non-members. Virtue was a spy employed by rival airline Alitalia, who reported the matter to the IATA and so got the trip called off.

But virtue was not unreservedly rewarded. The Alitalia man—their Manchester manager—came back from holiday to a doormat load of poison pen letters, which shows how much people hate a wrecker of dahlia growers' outings.

Nobody seems to have got upset with the real culprit. The IATA does not only lay down rules about economy fares. It also governs all other aspects of flying freight and passengers all over the world, and the charges which are made for this.

In other words, it is an international organisation which tries to regulate the

## Companion Parties

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Patene.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

## WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Fanouil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.

markets in air traffic. Quite often this means that the IATA restricts traffic, as it has in the Dahlia Society affair.

Such carve-ups are quite common under capitalism; they exist in all manner of enterprises and their object is to safeguard the profitability of those enterprises. This—the profit motive which underlies all capitalism's operations—is where the disappointed dahlia growers should vent their frustration.

And so should all those poison pen writers, who perhaps see something particularly mean and degrading in useful men wasting their time spying upon other useful men wasting their time thinking up ways of avoiding commercial restrictions.

## AT HOME

## The Sun

The International Publishing Corporation—the *Daily Mirror* group to most people—are noted for their mastery of

the technique of ballyhoo. At one time, no newspaper had its finger so sensitively upon the pulse of public ignorance as did the *Mirror*—and none exploited that ignorance so cynically nor so remuneratively.

But recently there have been new scents in the wind. Is the *Mirror* losing its grip, as the IPC gets larger? The group's latest paper—the *Sun*—is trying, among other things, to prove that the finger is still unerringly there, still knows how fast or how slow beats the reader's pulse.

"The only newspaper," claimed the *Sun*, "born of the age we live in." Self consciously, the paper detailed the type of person it is confident of attracting. The New Young Men with the Hardy Ames suit, with the open plan bungalow on the new estate, the foot on the second or even the third rung of the ladder. The people with a conscience—and, naturally, with the big buying power.

All of this splurge was really aimed at potential advertisers, to persuade them that space booked in the *Sun* would pay

off. It is the advertising revenue, and not the circulation figures, which now decide whether a paper lives or dies.

The *Daily Herald*, when International put it to sleep, had a daily sale of well over a million copies, but couldn't attract enough advertising to pay its way. In contrast, the colour supplement of the *Sunday Times*, which is virtually given away, is a money-spinner—and is therefore being widely imitated—because it attracts some rich advertising.

What this adds up to is that in the newspaper world it is only the really Big'uns who now stand a chance. This may mean that the *Sun*, backed by IPC's massive resources and under the practised and ruthless control of Hugh Cudlipp, may eventually survive.

Which would merely add another mouthpiece of capitalist propaganda to the rest. And if the *Sun* lives up to its promise to be a "radical" paper, a paper with a "conscience," a particularly unctuous and nauseating mouthpiece it will be. "The only newspaper born of the age we live in." Ugh.

From the SOCIALIST STANDARD, November, 1914.

## THE PURPOSE AND METHOD OF COLONISATION

If one thing emerges more strikingly than another from the history of the efforts by which the capitalistically backward countries have been and are being brought into the range of modern civilisation, it is the fact that the fundamental condition of such enterprises is the expropriation of the mass of the people from the land and their conversion into wage workers. The much-vaunted "education of the savage races" is really only a high-sounding phrase used by some to hide this awkward fact of expropriation. We only need again refer to the obstinate resistance which the "aggressive advance" (the term is in itself significant) of "civilisation" meets everywhere on the part of the aboriginal populations, and to the difficulty of obtaining a sufficient supply of workers, to illustrate this fact. Deprivation of free access to the means of subsistence is, in fact, the only way to convert free men into wage slaves.

The lesson is obvious and should not be lost upon the modern working class, who labour under the delusion that they still have "a stake in the country." It is that "civilisation" pre-supposes the completed expropriation of the mass of the people from the land and the means of wealth production.

But it is by no means necessary to go to the Colonies to discover the basis of "our

civilisation." Does not the fact stare one constantly in the face that the people have been deprived of their heritage? What other explanation is there for the "terrible social difficulties" and stupid anomalies surrounding us? What other cause is there of this awful and degrading poverty in the midst of plenty? What else could turn every technical progress into a calamity? What other factor could turn every labour saving device into a means of increasing the unemployment and poverty of the many? Is it, or is it not, the fact that the few (the capitalist class) have confiscated the land and the instruments of wealth production, and that they allow these things to be used only when it suits their interests—their pockets?

Thus we see that the policy of colonisation that is being carried out before our eyes and has been described in these columns—the robbery of the land from the native and the destruction of his own means of living—is nothing more or less than the policy which has successfully reduced us—"the heirs of civilisation"—to a class of wage-slaves labouring our whole lives in poverty in order that others may enjoy lives of riotous luxury.

The white labourer, like the black, is forced to toil for capitalist profit by force or fraud, and it is more than ever clearly

true that the working class of all countries are the wage-slaves of a class that makes its country synonymous solely with its profit. This all-important fact the workers must end by seeing clearly, and then they will stand surely together as one man on the freedom of humanity, by the overthrow of this worldwide capitalist class. This must be so, for economic development fights for us and, to use again the well-worn but fundamentally true words of Marx, the workers have nothing to lose but their chains, while they have a world to win.

## The WESTERN SOCIALIST

Journal for Socialism  
in the  
U.S.A. and Canada

6d monthly



## After the Election

A FAVOURITE story of the First World War concerns two high born young officers in the thick of a desperate battle. All around them the shells scream and roar, the soldiers claw their way through the lethal mud. One of the officers turns to the other: "I say, Fanshawe, won't you be awfully glad when this horrid war is over and we can get back to some proper soldiering?"

Now that the election battle has subsided, now that the politicians' roars have been stilled, now that the smoke-screens of promises have cleared, a certain fact can be discerned. All the while, capitalism has been waiting for the nonsense to stop. Now it can get back to some proper soldiering.

What does that mean? Even while the battle was raging, calm voices could be heard indicating that capitalism would be largely unaffected by the result. Here, for example, is the City Editor of the *Evening Standard*, writing on September 24th about the similarities of both Labour and Conservative policy on the capital gains tax:

It now seems certain that a new capital gains tax will be introduced next year—whichever wins the Election. . . .

The Stock Exchange, the Institute of Directors, and the top brass of the Labour Party have all said that they want changes. . . .

From what I hear . . . a re-elected Tory Government would tackle the subject pretty soon.

Other voices could also be heard, some of them not so calm. Mr. Khrushchev forgot that elections are times when everybody should be studying how good capitalist society is for us, and announced that Russia had a "monstrous new terrible weapon" which could destroy humanity. Of course, the Russian Ex Premier said afterwards that he had not meant that, that he had never said it and even if he had he had been misreported. Everyone had misunderstood him. Russia has only a "terrible weapon"—non nuclear.

The shock waves from this announcement duly arrived at Washington, where the military have for some time been worried about the offensive potential of bomb carrying space-satellites. President Johnson felt it part of his duty as President—and perhaps part of his election campaign—to claim that the United States has new defensive installations, in place, operational and on the alert, which could destroy hostile satellites. These installations—if they exist—are there because the other side has developed the means of penetrating the old defences. Presumably, the latest defence installations will cause the other side to work out new, more penetrative, more powerful weapons. This is a two-way process—the Americans are also working on missiles to get through the latest Russian defences. This all goes under the name of the policy of the deterrent and it is supposed to make us happy and secure.

It is reasonable to suppose that the up-bidding by Johnson and Khrushchev in the game of international nuclear poker did not influence many voters in the British election. How many voters were appalled at the fact that capitalist society spends so much of its time and talents on trying to blow itself up? How many asked themselves why the richest nations in the world are so anxious to have the world's most fearsome weapons?

The answer to that question is easy enough to come by. Consider this example, so normal to capitalism that it passed almost unnoticed.

Not very long ago, nobody bothered very much about the North Sea. You could sail across it, fly over it, you could fish in it. And then a funny thing happened. The Dutch

discovered a rich field of natural gas, which is now thought to be the second largest of its kind in the world, and capable of supplying Europe's needs for many years. It did not take a lot of elaborate detective work to connect this discovery with the small British oilfields in the Midlands and to surmise that oil and gas bearing rocks might stretch right under the North Sea.

Then everyone became interested in ending the arrangement which allowed the North Sea to be a free area. An international conference parcelled out the seabed between the interested powers. By this solemnly legal method the British government stole 100,000 square miles of seabed and they shared this out, in the shape of licences to drill for oil and gas, to firms like Shell, Esso, British Petroleum and the Gas Council. All the capitalist parties were agreed that this was a fit and proper way of settling the affair:

Mr. Erroll said the Bill under which the licences were issued had been thoroughly discussed in the House of Commons this year and nobody had suggested matters should be handled differently. (*The Guardian*, 18/9/64.)

It is obvious that there will be some changes, now, in the North Sea. A rich supply of oil or gas, or both, will be especially interesting to British industry, which at present is so precariously dependent upon oil from abroad. But there could be other effects, equally interesting. The British interest in the oilfields of the Middle East has been responsible for many clashes of arms there. The Suez invasion, the refusal to get out of Cyprus, were only two recent examples of this. In the same way, the French hung on in Algeria, and prolonged the bloodshed there, because of the discovery of oil and gas in the Sahara.

It is obvious that British capitalism would be equally determined to protect its investments in the North Sea. At the moment the area is all allocated. But what if some other capitalist group, which was not in on the original carve-up, decides that it also needs to get hold of some of the North Sea resources?

This is not a fanciful question. At the end of the last century the expanding capitalism of Germany was faced with a similar situation. They had arrived too late to get their share of the colonial and commercial loot from the ruthless scramble of a little earlier. They tried to catch up by diplomatic and trading bargains. They tried threats and military adventures. But the end was inevitable and we saw what it was in 1914 and 1939.

If the same sort of dispute arises over the North Sea, the capitalist powers will probably try to bargain it out of existence. They may even succeed, for a time. But in the end, if the conferences fail, the good old final solution of a head on, armed clash will follow. No holds will be barred and the side with the biggest bangers will win.

And that, to return to our original point, is why the Russian ruling class have their monstrous weapons, why the Americans have theirs and why both sides—indeed all sides—are in the arms race. Capitalism is a world divided by conflicting economic interests, which are asserted by the armed forces of the rival nations. These forces must always be ready, must always have the most up-to-date weapons—even if this means that they have the means of destroying the human race.

This is all quite normal to capitalism. It goes on during elections, and when the dust of battle has cleared it is still there. Proper soldiering, in fact.

On the home front it is the same story. Both Labour and Conservative parties were clear that a major preoccupation of the next government would be their "incomes policy"—

more accurately known as their method of controlling wages. "Labour," said *The Guardian*, "would demand from the unions cooperation in an incomes policy." The Tory manifesto put it: "an effective and fair incomes policy is crucial to the achievement of sustained growth without inflation."

What this means is that the struggle between the employers and the workers, over wages and working conditions, will continue. The working class will continue to depend upon their wages for their life. They will continue trying to improve those wages and conditions and the government will continue trying to hold the improvements in some sort of check.

The working class freely voted for capitalism in the election and in doing that they freely voted for the system which compels them to struggle and which so often reduces any temporary advantage they may gain.

These sombre facts do not prevent the politicians promising that some day, in some mysterious way, things are going to get better. The politicians' airy promise is an established part of proper soldiering. Some have been foolish enough to have passed into political history, to stand as monumental warnings against verbal extravagance. (One old time Labour minister was so famous for the generosity of his promises that he was called "the greatest blatherer alive.")

## Cyprus Report

IT IS now almost a year since Cyprus' Black Christmas erupted into the headlines. Since then, frequent murders and incidents of vandalism have kept the inter-communal mistrust simmering; a lasting settlement between the Greek and Turkish populations seems almost impossible.

The dispute between the Greek and Turkish factions centres round the island's Constitution. This, in its first article, prohibits activities aimed at promoting the union of Cyprus with any other country or at the partition of the island. The Turks have insisted on the inviolability of the Constitution as their best hope of defeating enosis; by the same token, the Greeks have tried to amend it. In fact, in a population openly divided by national allegiances, the Constitution has proved unworkable.

Whichever side started the fighting last December, it is a fact that both had been spoiling for it for a long time. The Turkish underground (TMT) had secretly landed arms and EOKA was still in organised existence. When the flare-up came, nobody should have been surprised.

The Turks probably erred in walking out of the Cypriot government. Although in theory this made illegal any decision by the Greek side, in fact it left the Greeks to perform all the necessary state business, including sending a delegation to UNO. This in turn made the Turkish Cypriots appear to be an insurgent minority; the whole weight of the state forces was turned against them. The police force (minus its disaffected Turkish members), the Army and the Greek vigilante groups (transformed by some propaganda alchemy into "Security Forces") were used in the fighting.

The Greeks also took over the organs of propaganda. Mr. Yiorgadjis took charge at the Ministry of Defence and in his other capacity of Minister of the Interior dictated policy to

Consider these two statements:

. . . the long, dark night is over and . . . a better day is dawning for Great Britain and the world. The wonderful recovery of trade and finance in the last seven years is the most marvellous miracle in the history of the world.

And the other:

It is a time for action, for decision, for exciting changes. It is a time for opportunity, opportunity for all our people, all our children, to break through man-made barriers of privilege and snobbery, and be free to give their talents and energies in service to their country.

The authors of those two statements were Phillip Snowden, in 1926, and Harold Wilson in 1964 (neither of whom were ever called "the greatest blatherer alive"). There is no reason to reveal who said which, because both statements are equally meaningless. The point is that the blathering of capitalism is an enduring as the system itself.

Proper soldiering. Massively destructive machines, the deadly rivalry between opposing capitalist blocs, poverty and strife, all covered by an enormous blanket of politicians' nonsense. The working class may vote for all of this, although they are the people who suffer most acutely under it. But a few of us will have no part of the soldiering. We have our eyes and thoughts on the better world and you will not find us on parade in the morning.

IVAN.



bandry but also of politics, with many only too ready to suspect officialdom of partisan bias. This makes the nationalists' exhortations more readily accepted.

The official Turkish attitude, according to the press, lay in conformity to the strict letter of the Constitution. But that was not the whole story. The Turkish Cypriot aim, based on their claims to be a separate community, is Taksim, or perhaps federation. The statement of their leaders Kutuchuk and Denktash, backed by the voice of Ankara, leave no doubt on this point. The Turkish suffering at the hands of Greek terrorists created sympathy for their aims but should not persuade anyone that these are any better than the other so-called solutions to the Cyprus crisis.

The apparent Greek aim of a unitary and independent state can see nothing strange in a strategically important island of half a million people trying to steer its own course through the tortuous channels of big power line ups. American intervention now seems to indicate that, if enosis comes, it will do so on some sort of compromise. For sure, the Turkish desire for partition would cut across the complex Cypriot landholding system, since most of the land, livestock and industry is in Greek hands.

The Greeks, who make up 80 per cent. of Cyprus' population, say that they will not be thwarted. They make much play of what they call ancient Greek democracy, overlooking the fact that 80 per cent. of that society's population—the chattel slaves—were ruled by the other 20 per cent. Enosis remains the real object of the Greek struggle; their spokesmen have often referred to the London and Zurich agreements as stepping stones to this end. The demands for enosis were noticeably absent from Cypriot government functions after the Spring of 1963, which led some people to conclude that the idea had been shelved. Now all that is changed.

The Greek faction in Cyprus is now faced with a considerable problem, of its own making. Legalising the bands of gunmen in the "Security Force" meant condoning the private armies of men like Nicos Samson. These men had wielded considerable power, and caused the Greek Cypriot leaders much embarrassment. The Conscription Bill passed in June, os-

tensibly "to defend the country from aggression from without, or subversion . . . was in fact designed to regularise the State Forces and to disarm and outlaw the "volunteers." In this way, apprehensive Greek ministers hoped to neutralise the power of the private armies.

Inevitably, the businessmen of Cyprus are concerned to procure political and economic stability. Some have suffered heavy financial losses and in private will admit indifference to enosis. For them, self determination is one thing, enosis another. Characteristically, the Cyprus Employers Consultative Association, during the crisis, called on all employers and workers to return to work, as the best way of solving the problem.

If only because it is numerically strong, and stands an outside chance of coming to power, we should mention the Communist Party. Almost exclusively Greek, and not having studied such foreign vote-catching plans as Home Rule for Wales, Scotland, Cornwall, etc., it regards the Turkish advocacy of partition as subversive. As usual, the Communists are hunting with the hounds while also being prepared to run with the hare.

But hypocrisy does not end with the Communist Party. With the return of Grivas—now probably on his way back to respectability—and the apparent United States support for enosis, things seem to be going Athens' way. Behind the cloak of legal arguments, and in the name of self-determination, enosis, federation, taksim and the rest, thousands of people have been killed, have been made homeless, have suffered in a multitude of ways.

That is not the end of the tragedy. The young man next door who takes up a gun in the Cyprus struggle is not a barbarian. He exists, in one way or another, all over the world. Ignorant as yet of the real nature of the inhuman society of sovereign states, political and economic blocs, nationalism and the rest, he blindly follows his leader, if necessary to kill and be killed.

In that fact, and in no other, is to be found the ultimate cause of the suffering in Cyprus and in the rest of the world.

W. ROBERTSON.

## Political Organisation

WHY must the working class organise as a political party to achieve Socialism? The answer to this question is to be found in an examination of the nature and role of the modern State.

At present the capitalist class control society through their possession of political power, through their control of the machinery of government. They did not construct this machine for this purpose, as the anarchist claim; the machinery of government evolved along with the evolution of society as a whole. It is one of the facts of social life that the government machine is the centre of social control. The working class must base its policy on a recognition of this. If the working class is to become the master of society—which it must do in order to change it—then it too must recognise itself as a class, and organise itself politically. This political party must be Socialist expressing workers' recognition that their emancipation can only be achieved by the expropriation

of the capitalist class and the establishment of Socialism.

Given the need for a Socialist political party, on what lines should it be organised? A movement which aims at the establishment of a social democracy in which human instead of commercial values can flourish cannot employ means which are in conflict with this end. It must to a certain extent reflect the new society it aims to create. This means that it must be organised on democratic lines. Its membership, even when it is only a small group, must have complete control over policy; all its officials must be responsible to the membership; there must be complete freedom of discussion within the party; there must be no division into leaders and led; there must be no secret meetings from which any section of the membership is excluded. But not only must the party be democratic, it must also be open in its methods.

It must hold no meetings from which members of the working class are excluded. A Socialist political party can have

nothing to hide from the working class. No gain can ever accrue to a Socialist party from seeking and getting support by subterfuges. Nor can it gain from using political dishonesty or terrorism. Such tactics would fail in their object. It's not a question of the end justifying the means. The end just cannot be reached by such means. Workers cannot be tricked or coerced into becoming conscious of their position as a subject class. They can only come to such an understanding through their collective experiences as a class.

The Socialist political party will not appear ready-made. Like other social phenomena, it will grow out of social conditions. This raises the whole question of the role of a Socialist party in the class struggle. At present there are two obstacles which stand in the way of achieving Socialism: the political ignorance of the working class and the control of the machinery of government by the capitalist class. To overcome these obstacles Socialist understanding must come first. For this reason the main activity of a Socialist party in its early days must be propaganda. It must seek to dispel the political ignorance of the working class.

This does not mean that the relation between the party and the working class is to be that of teacher and pupil. Socialist understanding is not something that can be constructed out of nowhere; it must grow out of social conditions. Such understanding—or class consciousness—will not arise purely as a result of the propaganda of the Socialist party. Ideas only grip the masses when they are relevant to social conditions. There are any number of cranks around with utopian schemes for social reconstruction. What distinguishes Socialists from them is that Socialism is in the material interest of the working class. Socialists have social evolution on their side. The cranks have not—that's why they're cranks.

Education is not just a question of learning from books and pamphlets; that is just one aspect of learning from experience. The class experiences of the working class under capitalism will teach it that Socialism is the answer to its problems. The party can help this development of Socialist understanding by storing up and propagating the past experiences of the working class so that these are easily accessible. The principles of the Socialist party will be based on these experiences and will serve as a guide to social issues, being used to expose useless remedies. To carry out this task its members must necessarily have a fairly high degree of political knowledge, know their opponents' case and be able to expose the flaws in their arguments. In its educational phase, precisely because it is such a phase, a higher degree of political understanding must be required of the members of the party than the working class need have to establish Socialism. As Socialist understanding spreads the number and importance of its opponents, and hence also of the need of a knowledge of their arguments, may well decline.

Once Socialist understanding grows to any appreciable extent, political conditions will completely change. Socialism will become a political issue. The comparative trivialities of present-day politics will be cast aside. The issue will be Capitalism or Socialism. With the changed conditions will come a change in the role of the party. It will become the political organisation of the working class which they can use to capture political power.

It is decidedly not the function of a Socialist party to lead the working class either in the struggle to live under capitalism or in the struggle for Socialism. The working class cannot be led to Socialism; it must emancipate itself. A Socialist working class will require no leadership; all it requires is organisation to put its aim into effect.

The day-to-day struggle of the working class, the economic

phase of the class struggle, goes on in the place of work. To carry out this struggle is the task of the trade unions. In so far as they carry out this task they are class weapons. The task of bargaining with the employers is not one for which a Socialist party is at all suited. Of course, the members of a Socialist party, precisely because they are class conscious workers, will be active trade unionists, desirous of getting the highest possible price for their labour power.

Some workers are today organised in various political parties, in this country mostly in the Labour Party, but to a smaller extent also in the Conservative Party, the Liberal Party, the so-called Communist Party and the various Nationalist parties. But they are not organised as a class, they are not organised for Socialism. Those who make a political principle of joining and trying to lead the trade unions frequently also make a principle of joining such pro-capitalist workers' organisations as the Labour Parties. But here they overlook the essential difference between the political and the economic organisations the working class need. Trade unions are class organisations when they are used correctly in the economic phase of the class struggle. They cease to be such when, for instance, they back productivity drives or finance politicians and political parties. In no sense are Labour Parties class parties, working class parties. They can correctly be said to be organisations serving the interests of the capitalist class since they are an expression of the fact that the working class are still imbued with capitalist prejudices. As it is one of the functions of a Socialist party to dispel such prejudices its members cannot work within such parties which only stand in the way of Socialist understanding and organisation.

These Labour parties frequently struggle for reforms within capitalism. A Socialist party struggles to end capitalism. It is no part of the role of a Socialist party to campaign for reforms. To do so is to invite degeneration into a pro-capitalist party by attracting politically ignorant workers who are only interested in reforms. When the Socialist political party is small a reform programme is futile, indeed farcical. When it becomes large enough to have some effect it doesn't need such a programme anyway. For when the Socialist party is the working class organised politically for Socialism the capitalist class will no doubt be only too eager to offer concessions in a bid to ward off their expropriation.

To sum up, the movement for Socialism must be open and democratic. At present its role is largely restricted to propaganda, but in the future it will be the working class organised consciously and politically for Socialism. It will be the instrument they will use to capture political power. The Socialist Party of Great Britain offers itself for this task.

A. L. B.

### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

#### Sundays

Hyde Park, 3 pm and 6 pm  
East Street, Walworth  
November 1st and 15th (noon)  
November 8th and 22nd (11 am)  
November 29th (1 pm)

#### Mondays

Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1-2 pm

#### Wednesdays

Outside Charing Cross Tube Station  
Villiers Street, 8 pm

#### Thursdays

Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm



## Sheharazad's thousand and second tale or would you

"Know then, oh glorious king! that in days of yore and in times and tides long since gone there existed a strange and wonderful land known as Vespucci. The inhabitants of that country, as was universally the case even in those days, were divided into rich and poor, but this fact was not that which made Vespucci a strange and wonderful land. There was a different sort of division among the people that cut across economic status and which, confusing as it may seem to us, was the cause of much more confusion than it is easy for us to imagine. For the Vespuccians were also divided according to the colour of their hair.

Not that they had as many divisions as there are colours! No! There were but two general divisions—those with green hair (the minority) and all the others regardless of colour and combination of colour. A Vespuccian might have but a faint tint of green in his hair against a background of any other colour or combination of colours, but the green tinge officially stamped him as a *Green Hair*. He might have no green hair visible whatsoever yet he was classified as a *Green Hair* if both or either of his parents were officially *Green Hairs*. Only if he chose to hide the fact that there were *Green Hairs* in his background could he pass as a *Normal Hair* when, of course, the green in his hair was not visible. There were a few of the *Green Hairs* who disappeared from the census each year but by and large the divisions were constant.

Vespucci was also divided geographically into Upper Vespucci and Lower Vespucci and although there was a common law for all citizens which was inscribed in a book and interpreted, from time to time, by a group of nine old Cadis in the capital city—a town named Dryington—the separate sections of the country also had sectional laws pertaining to *Green Hairs*, written laws in Lower Vespucci, unwritten laws in Upper Vespucci. In Upper Vespucci the *Green Hairs* were, for the most part, segregated in housing and schools in a *de facto* manner while in Lower Vespucci the segregation was maintained as a matter of law. And this arrangement lasted for many generations with segregation carried out fairly generally and even in the armed forces and the prisons.

But certain developments began to take place in the economic life of the nation, developments which caused a great stir throughout the length and breadth of Vespucci. On the one hand a growing number of *Green Hairs* began to earn more money than had been the case hitherto and, at the same time, to get more education. On the other hand the larger manufacturers and merchants of the land found it expedient to expand into the more backward areas where more underprivileged *Green Hairs* were to be found and these big moneyed interests felt that a greater degree of stability among the working population (*Green Hairs* and *Normal Hairs* alike) was in order.

The wealthy Vespuccians, like the rich of our own times, were altruistic and never had other than the general welfare at heart. And so the group of top-ranking Cadis decreed in their wisdom that the arrangement that had, up until now, been legal was no longer legal and that all Vespuccians regardless of the colour of their hair were equal under the law, the only inequality, henceforth, to be that which is natural and normal and fitting—the inequality caused by the possession or non-possession of money in large quantities.

There was no great rush, however, to obey the new law on the part of the Lower Vespuccians and several years passed with no more than a token breakdown in the segregation pattern and even this in a restricted area of the Lower section.

So great discontent became generated among the *Green Hairs* of Lower Vespucci while, in the other part of the nation, their fellow *Green Hairs* decided that *de facto* segregation would also have to go. They felt that their children were getting an unequal education and they resented the social inequality which was their lot despite there being no written laws on the matter in their area. And so they, too, began to demonstrate and to demand rights.

As of now, Your Highness, the affair should not seem to be too confusing. The *Green Hairs* were discriminated against in every manner and they were organizing to do something about it with the help, let me add hastily, of a number of *Normal Hairs*. They demonstrated in the streets, they picketed places of employment, they argued with school boards and with politicians, they boycotted stores, and many of them were subjected to various degrees of brutality by the forces of law and order. All of this is understandable. The *Green Hairs* wanted "Freedom" and they shouted to the rooftops that they wanted it now. But despite the fact that everything seems to have been quite in order, a certain confusion begins to develop in the story and seems to hinge around the meaning of the word Freedom, and also of the word Equality.

The *Green Hairs* were by no means united in their fight for Civil Rights. There were a number of organizations which represented them and which ran, in attitudes, all the way from conservative advocates of passive resistance—meek and humble followers of Christianity in its meek and humble forms, down through the more militant sects of that Infidel Religion, and even to the followers of the one, true, faith, the Muslims (*Green Hair* Muslims). And even the chosen of Allah were to become divided on the basis of militancy and action between the followers of the old leader, Mustapha Prophet, and the adherents of a younger and more fiery leader, Roderick Zee. But despite the divisions and differing attitudes there seemed to be one thing in common among the organizations of the *Green Hairs* and that was their universal agreement in a "practical" interpretation of the meaning of the terms Freedom and Equality. And this will best be explained by recounting the following adventure of a colour-blind Vespuccian who spent much time among the *Green Hairs*.

Our hero, who we will call Ali McKhan, chanced one day to step into the office of the largest of the Civil Rights groups, the *National Brotherhood for the Aid of Green Hairs*. He felt impelled to have a look at some of the literature of this organization and he entered into conversation with an official named Emmanuel Prince. "Right at this moment," he was told, "Our main concern is in breaking down discrimination in housing. We are attempting to compel landlords in all neighbourhoods to rent to *Green Hairs*, and real-estate brokers to sell to them regardless of how snooty the neighbourhood."—"Very interesting," remarked McKhan, "but tell me something. know a lot of *Green Hairs* in the Ghetto and I'm certain that most of those I know can't afford to pay the rents in the better neighbourhoods and certainly don't have enough money saved for a down payment on a house in the swank sections. What about them?"

Prince waved a deprecating hand, "We can't be concerned with those people. The trouble with a lot of my fellow *Green Hairs* is that they just don't have the initiative to better themselves. Let them stay where they are."

"But," argued McKhan, "It is my understanding that there

## let your daughter marry a green hair?

are some new and wonderful machines on the scene today that make it possible to produce an abundance of food, and clothing, and houses, and everything else. Don't you think it would be better if your organization tried to get all Vespuccians, regardless of colour, to see that it is now easy to produce enough for everybody and that something should be done to change the present basis of production for sale—change it to a system where everybody can have free access to their needs? Don't you think that nobody would pay any attention to colour of hair under such conditions? That all Vespuccians would become colour blind?"

"My dear fellow," snapped Prince, "You are obviously some sort of Red. What we want is freedom and equality. The freedom to rise on the economic ladder and an equal chance with *Normal Hairs* to compete for his freedom. How can you have freedom if you do away with poverty? And we don't want everyone to become colour-blind. We're proud of our colour. We are a rich mixture of great ancestors and we have a glorious history. Furthermore, we are loyal Vespuccians and we demand nothing more than our rights under the Constitution of our glorious nation."

So McKhan sadly bowed his way out and went down the street in the direction of the *Green Hairs Freedom Now Society*. "They're a militant bunch, not like that other gang of phonies," he muttered. But on the way he suddenly noticed a bright sign with a star and crescent over the doorway of a building. He straightened his shoulders and pounded fist in palm. "The devil with the rest of them. This is the real McKhoy, the headquarters of Roderick Zee, the New Muslim Leader. (The name was formerly Zed, but the new arrangement called for a revolutionary change.) This bunch will really understand what freedom and equality mean." And he went in.

Fortunately for McKhan, Roderick Zee had overcome the old dislike of being friendly with *Normal Hairs* and he found the young *Green Hair* Muslim to be not only enthusiastic but affable. "Yes, my friend. What we *Green Hairs* need in order to attain freedom is a country of our own. We demand that the Vespuccian Government give us an area where we can set up our own government and produce and distribute for ourselves. We want Separation, and we want it now, even if we have to organize rifle clubs among the

*Green Hairs*."

McKhan was dubious about the separation bit and even more dubious about the rifle clubs. "Seems to me," he interposed, "that it will take more than rifles to offset the weapons of the Vespuccian Government. And what's this business about separation into your own country? I like the idea of producing and distributing for yourselves, but why restrict this to *Green Hairs*? Don't you think it is possible to produce enough for everybody, regardless of colour of hair, to have all they want if we stop holding back the machinery and produce for use?" Of course, we would have to abolish private property universally, though, and not just for *Green Hairs*."

Roderick Zee's eyes bulged in horror. "Get rid of private property?" he screamed. "What in the devil are you talking about?" Didn't you hear me say we want Freedom Now? How can we have freedom if we don't have the freedom to own private property and hire other people to work for us—*Green Hairs*, of course. We don't want any *Normal Hairs* in our factories."

"But," argued McKhan, "why would anybody want to work for you if they were producing for themselves? I thought people worked for other people just because they have to in order to eat, because they don't own the means for producing things. And you say they—all of the *Green Hairs*—will own their own factories and workshops and still most of them will go to work for some of them? It's all quite confusing." He was still mumbling as he was led out the door.

And so you see, Oh Illustrious King, that the Vespuccians, regardless of the colour of their hair and regardless of the animosities between the *Green Hairs* and the *Normal Hairs*, did have a common belief in the meaning of freedom and equality. They understood that unless one could rise above his fellows, climb over the bodies that form the broad base on the bottom of the economic pyramid toward the narrow apex at the top, there can be no freedom. This was the basis of Vespuccian Ethics and Vespuccian Religion and Vespuccian Morality and Vespuccian Law, and it was written in a big book in the capital city of Dryington and interpreted, from time to time, by nine old Cadis.

H. MORRISON.

## BOOKS

NATIONALISM AND COMMUNISM,

by Hugh Seton-Watson, *Methuen*, 36s.

One of the minor effects of the many years of political tension between the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, that has become known as the Cold War, is a widespread ignorance of those European countries that are within the Russian bloc. Occupied by Russian troops at the end of the second world war, and kept in military and economic subjection ever since, they tend to be dismissed as of no importance.

People with extensive knowledge of

West European or American politics and their economic problems, know nothing of the affairs of Eastern Europe. Only when, as in 1956 in Hungary, the scene erupts into violence, do they receive much attention. Yet a hundred million people live here in an area of nearly half a million square miles. We buy food and manufactured articles, gramophone records and books from them in ever increasing numbers, but most of us have a very scanty knowledge of the countries themselves.

*Nationalism and Communism* is a collection of essays written between 1946 and 1963, and first published in a wide variety of newspapers and periodicals. It contains interesting and detailed reports from the Eastern European States, of the ruthless and cynical methods used by the Communist parties of those countries to gain and hold power.

The book contains also an excellent potted history of the rise of Nationalism. The conceptions of "nation" and "race" that have played so large, and so destruc-



tive, a part in recent history, are modern.

The idea of the "nation" was largely unknown before the 18th century, and it first became a major political issue in the French Revolution. As late as 1815 Metternich and Alexander I of Russia regarded nationalism as a subversive idea. It was in the 19th century that nationalistic theories spread throughout the world. Not only the major powers, but economic groups seeking independence from domination by a greater power, began to build up theories about their origins to prove that they were a race apart.

L. DALE.

POLITICAL PARTIES, by Maurice Duverger. *University Paperbacks*, 16s.

During the past few weeks we have had every opportunity to watch modern political parties in action. We have witnessed these parties using every possible method, both ancient and modern, to draw the voters to the polling booth, and to flatter, cajole or panic them into putting their crosses against the right names.

The performances of the two main parties in the last election were worth examining. They knew that scares must

not be overdone and no drum must be banged for too long, lest the public get bored. Because if they get bored they might not turn out to vote, and however stupid or ill-informed the voters may be, it is their vote that decides the election. The ultimate power rests in the hands of the mass of the people, the working class, and it is the tragedy of the age that they use this power—not to end their bondage, but to perpetuate it.

It is to secure the votes of the electorate, and to ensure that the power, both national and local, stays in the hands of the party caucus, that modern parties exist.

Although many of the present day parties, such as the Liberal and Conservative parties in Britain, have a long history and still retain their old names, they have changed so much in their organisation as to be really different bodies. The twentieth century party system is modern, and has little in common with the parties of the 18th and 19th centuries.

The parties that existed before universal suffrage were mere Parliamentary groupings with the object of getting a working majority in Parliament, to enable a group to operate as a government. They had little real existence outside of Parliament.

With the coming of the 19th century

and a wider but still limited franchise the so-called "middle class" parties came into being. These were based on groups or caucuses, composed of influential or well-known people. Narrowly recruited and with a rather exclusive membership, they did not want the masses to join and made no effort to recruit them. Each party was very decentralised, with their local groups largely independent of the others. Often these groups centred round the leading family in an area.

Those who remember the late 1940's will recall the frantic and, as it turned out, successful efforts of the Conservative Party to shed the last remnants of the 19th century, and to transform themselves into a modern party. Modern parties, with their mass membership, their constant drives for new members, and their high degree of centralisation, are products of a world in which the masses can no longer be ignored.

*Political Parties*, by Maurice Duverger, recently published as a paper back, is a very useful text-book. A trifle heavy going, it is nevertheless well worth reading. It deals with Political Parties throughout the world, and describes in detail the Parties and electoral systems of all the more highly developed countries, including totalitarian, one-party states.

L. DALE.

## essential reading

The Case for Socialism	1/-
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA

## Reminiscences of an old member

TO escape from the narrow and limited conditions of existence in my home town in northern Bohemia (now Czechoslovakia), where I was apprenticed for three years in a textile factory's office and received private English lessons, I left home in 1902 for a bigger industrial centre in Germany. I worked in Plauen (Saxony), famous for its lace industry, and found excellent contacts there with English, French and American students working and learning in the factories.

As one could in those days travel right across the whole European Continent without let or hindrance, without passports or labour permits, I went a year later to Switzerland, to Lyon in France and eventually to Paris, where I worked during 1904 and 1905. One of the great advantages of my stay in Paris was that I was able to get certified at the Austro-Hungarian Embassy as exempt from military service.

Returning to Austria in 1905, I worked in Vienna for four years as foreign correspondent with a large export firm, and in 1909 went to try my luck in England. After a three week search, I found a job in an important commercial concern in London, where I soon felt securely enough established to get married. Before I made that plunge I had made another, to join the Socialist Party of Great Britain in 1910. I was a member till 1919 and have kept in happy and close contact to the present day, with the exception of the second world war years. It has been my great ambition from the very day I set foot on the Continent again to found here a companion Socialist organisation. If greater success has so far been denied us, the stalwarts of the SPGB will, in view of their sixty years' experience, readily understand our difficulties.

My contact with Socialism really dates back to the turn of the Century when, in

1898, my father had already taken me to a Sunday afternoon meeting of the Social Democratic Party, going in our home town under the name of *Lichtstrahl* (Sunbeam). Teenager as I still was, I hardly knew what they were talking about. I remember that evening lectures on Darwin and Marx were often advertised in the local party press, but my mind at that time was bent on my job, on learning English, going dancing, enjoying cycling and skating, etc. No political contact worth mentioning was made afterwards in Germany or in France. In Vienna from 1905 to 1909 contact with people interested in Socialism had been quite by accident, not by design. Occasional talks with party members there were not stimulating. I went to "Socialist" meetings but their propaganda also was far from arousing sufficient interest even to envisage joining the movement. It is then remarkable that within a few months of my arrival in London, my views and interest in social affairs should have undergone so swift and radical a change that by 1910 I felt impelled to join the Socialist Party of Great Britain.

Living near Finsbury Park, I strolled on one of the first Sunday mornings over to where public meetings were in progress. My particular attention fell on the political platforms—the Labour Party, Social Democratic Federation, Christian Commonwealth, etc. I found the speakers lustily criticising and attacking each others' policies, for which I had at first little understanding. My interest had, however, been so deeply aroused that I went again in the afternoon, when I discovered an additional platform with the name SPGB. No sooner had a speaker mounted that platform than the bulk of the audiences of most of the other speakers rushed over. Listening attentively, I was surprised to hear the speaker showing up not just one or the other opponent, but the lot of them for misleading and confusing the people on vital issues concerning their lives. In my bewilderment, and anxious to better understand, I bought all the papers I could get hold of—the *Labour Leader*, *Justice*, *Christian Commonwealth*, and the *Socialist Standard*. At home I began studying them all, and on the following Sunday I was early around the platform of the SPGB again. Much wiser, I now enjoyed even more what the speaker was out for. I also got to know his name—it was Anderson—and it was evident that the impact of what this speaker had to say, in his rare and convincing way, was as decisive on many other listeners as it

was on me. I heard other speakers from that platform on many following Sundays, with the result, as I have already mentioned, that I applied for membership of the party they represented, and was enrolled in the Islington branch.

At Head Office I joined a class on economics with Comrade F. C. Watts as teacher. I met there young comrade

Gilmac, who remains my life-long friend to this day. Soon I knew a great number of other equally inestimable and unforgettable comrades, among them Fitzgerald, Adolf Kohn, Jacobs, Jacob, Gostick and wife, Sandy Pearson.

Anderson sometimes came to my home. I remember a Christmas party my wife gave to some children, including Anderson's. At the end of the party Anderson (an inveterate teetotaller) thanked us very much, especially for the "wonderful lemonade"—the "best he had ever drunk in his life." My wife afterwards smilingly confessed to me that, of course, she had mixed some spirit with it, as she invariably did.

Anderson was a born speaker and an eminently able man, invaluable for the only cause that is worthy of the fervour and devotion of such a rare and unforgettable character. He was evidently happy on the platform and excelled in ready and witty answers to questioners. "What about the missing link?" somebody once shouted from the audience. "The missing link," promptly retorted Anderson, "is not far away."

Becoming a Socialist meant that I rapidly changed my whole outlook and attitude on such questions as "earning your living" by a "fair day's work for a fair day's wage," on "social justice," ethical and moral codes, religion, etc. What I had been taught about history had to go by the board, to be irremediably replaced by the Materialist Conception—the scientific theory of the evolution of society. Words like value, price, the source of interest and profit, and the true role of money and capital; why wealth was produced for sale at a profit instead for the sole purpose of satisfying human wants and desires, etc.—things I had never heard explained at school—all received thorough attention. The knock-out blow was delivered to falsehoods, and fallacies. And all this, be it noted, before the two world wars, during which churchmen were doing overtime blessing the guns and the fratricide.

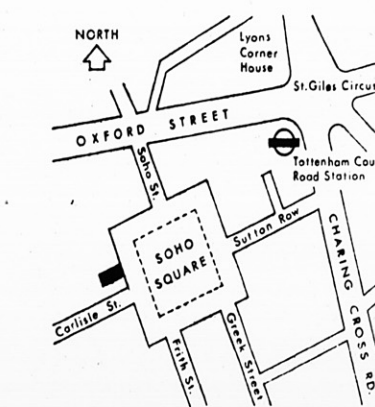
(To be concluded)

R. FRANK.

## MEETINGS

### BLOOMSBURY LECTURES

Asquith Room  
2 Soho Square, W1  
Sundays 8 pm (doors open 7.30)



1st November  
**ART AND SOCIETY**  
Speaker: C. Devereaux

8th November  
**FOOD AND POPULATION**  
Speaker: C. May

15th November  
**CRIME AND CAPITALISM**  
Speaker: H. Baldwin

22nd November  
**SOCIALISM OR ANARCHISM**  
Speaker: J. D'Arcy

29th November  
**PENSIONS AND POVERTY**  
Speaker: E. Critchfield

6th December  
**LONDON TRANSPORT STORY**  
Speaker: W. Waters

**WEMBLEY**  
Barham Old Court, Barham Park  
(opposite the Fusillier)  
Mondays 8 pm

16th November  
**AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTION**  
Speaker: E. Hardy

30th November  
**HISTORICAL LECTURE**  
Speaker: L. Dale

**PADDINGTON**  
Discussions or Lectures every  
Wednesday 9 pm  
The Royal Oak, York Street, W.1  
(near Marylebone Rd. and Station)



## What's happening in East Germany

THE information contained in this article is taken from the *Democratic German Report* (DGR) which is published and printed in East Germany. Its general theme is anti Bonn Government, but in most issues there is an article on some aspect of life in East Germany. Recent articles have dealt with Agriculture, Gambling, Women, Religion and Education.

If East Germany were a Socialist Society as claimed one would expect the economic and social conditions in East Germany to differ from those in Britain. However, a perusal of the articles in the DGR show that the aims of their society, the problems and the suggested solutions are the same as in Britain.

I. AGRICULTURE (Quotes from D.G.R., Vol. XIII No. 6. 20/3/64.)

Having split the land into small units after the war to hand to the peasants they are now

"having a big drive to get all farmers to join co-operatives" and "the final aim is to transform them into enterprises run like industrial enterprises;"

"the choice of specialisation will depend on the region, the type of soil or grazing land, and on the traditional farming carried out in a particular part of the country."

Further,

"Labour productivity must be vastly increased through rationalisation and mechanisation of farm work."

"Investments will have to be channelled into the most important projects."

Note that this is the pattern of agricultural development in the "Western World." Farmers in the U.K. and U.S.A. specialise; they attempt to raise the productivity of labour (i.e., raise the value of the output of the labourer proportionately more than any percentage increase in wages); they are mechanising and enlarging their holdings.

Why do they do this? Capitalism has only one God—PROFIT, and the aim in farming, as in any other enterprise, is to increase the opportunities for maximising profit. It is no different in East Germany. Commenting on the larger co-operatives the D.G.R. states they

"now had their own machinery and were trying out new farming methods on their larger fields; their bigger herds of livestock were better housed, could be looked after with *proportionately less labour power and were more profitable.*" (Our italics.)

In this "desirable Socialist" society there is a "steady drain of young people away from the land and into better paid, more comfortable jobs in industry."

Who paid them so badly in farming? The state farms? The Cooperative Farmers? Or the 50 per cent. of farmers who are not in cooperatives? In the U.K. we all witness the drain away from the land. In the USA the farm population is falling by nearly a million people every year. It seems that in East Germany, the UK and the USA, workers have the same need—"better paid, more comfortable jobs," and these are not to be found easily on the land.

The subsidisation of farming in the UK has long been a cause of argument between the reformist political parties. Not for, or against, but how much and in what manner. The Presidential Election in the USA was in part fought over the farm programmes of the major political parties, and as in the past subsidies will be one of the central themes. But in East Germany, of course: "Walter Ulbricht, Chairman of the German Democratic Republic State Council gave some examples of how subsidising would work in the future";

It is well said that one can know a leopard by its spots. The spots of East German farming—Profit, lowly paid labour, productivity not production, subsidies—place it fair and square with its capitalist counterparts in the U.K. and the U.S.A.

II. GAMBLING. (Quotes from D.G.R., Vol. XIII, No. 9 1/5/64.)

The article in the D.G.R. was in response to a letter from a Miss M.B. of Birmingham, who asked: "Are there any football pools, betting or gambling in the German Democratic Republic (G.D.R.)?"

The following quotes state briefly the situation:

"There is quite a lot of betting and gambling in the D.G.R., but no overall figures are available on the sums spent on these pastimes. You can lose your money on the horses at two race courses near Berlin, but the most popular forms of betting are football pools, similar to those in Britain, and various forms of "Lotto" in which you pick your numbers which you hope may come up in a weekly draw. In addition, there is the old fashioned lottery in which you just buy a ticket and hope for the best."

"All these various forms of taking a chance are nationally owned or municipally owned and nobody makes a fortune out of betting with the exception of a very few winners who may get pay-outs ranging up to about 500,000 marks (about £45,000)."

"What happens to the winnings? They are not subject to income or/and property tax so long as they remain in the bank and are not re-invested, and they accumu-

late the usual 3 per cent. interest paid on bank savings."

"Some (winners) say they must go home and think. . . ."

"Others say they want to buy a car or a house first. Most winners take out the odd thousands and deposit larger sums. Older people sometimes decide to settle sums on their children or open savings accounts for their grandchildren, and many give quite large sums to various good causes, including the Society for the Protection of Animals."

"People very seldom seem to give up their jobs on the spur of the moment and go on the spree, although some cases have come to light. . . ."

These quotes (emphasis ours) are of interest. Much of them could apply with equal validity to Britain.

It is evident that despite the claim that gambling is a "pastime," many gamblers in East Germany, as in Britain, "hope for the best." Why? Because "they want to buy a car or a house," "settle sums on their children," "go on the spree." As in Britain they seek release from the struggle within society, the need to seek "better paid, more comfortable Gambling is widespread in East Germany for the same reason as it is in Britain—it may be a short cut to greater social and economic security.

Note that in Britain also, winnings are not subject to income or property tax, and here the only tax free investment that you can make is the first £15 in the Post Office Savings Bank, where the interest is 2½ per cent., not 3 per cent. as in East Germany.

The most significant thing, however, is that some people in East Germany own more property than others, and there are ways in which this property can be passed on to their heirs. Property owners can invest, and not only in savings accounts. The interest on these investments can be met only out of the unpaid labour time of the workers. Workers are exploited in East Germany just as in Britain, or if we believe their propaganda that all their citizens are workers, some are obviously more "worker" than others!

Gambling occurs in East Germany because workers there, as in Britain, are looking for something more in life, and have the desire to change their social and economic situation. They can do the same thing with their winnings as here, including investing them and thereby exploiting the working class and perhaps sopping their consciences by making a donation to a "good cause."

Only Socialism will change this. In a Socialist society people will be engaged in useful, fruitful pursuits. The property

basis of capitalist society will be gone. There will be no need to gamble, nor will life be so monotonous that it will require something like gambling to give it a kick.

The "spots" of East German society look even more like those in Britain. There is only one reason—it suffers from the same disease—capitalism!

KEN KNIGHT.

## In the midst of plenty

IN the *People* recently there appeared an article written by Michael Gabbert under the heading "30,000,000 Americans Go Hungry." In heavy type were references to "Children often are sent out to work on the land"; "In poverty-ridden tenements life is one long struggle against rats"; "And eight out of ten of the hungry ones are white."

We are told that one-sixth of America's population live below the minimum acceptable standards of health, housing, food and education. According to official figures thirty million men, women and children are living in poverty and squalor in America's slums, migratory labour camps, depressed areas or Indian "reservations."

In his new study, researcher Ben H. Bagdikian examines poverty at the level on which the poor see it themselves. He uses individual cases—individual cries for help—to illustrate the great American paradox of poverty amidst plenty: a paradox in which the poor, though without electricity, scabble for junk-heap refrigerators so that they may use them to keep food safe from marauding rats . . . in which every major city from the East coast to the West coast has its own "Skid-row" of human derelicts . . . in which automation has brought untold misery to once proud workers.

Thus Bagdikian destroys a couple of beliefs comfortably held by the well-off.

It has been assumed by many that the poor are mainly negroes and half-castes; in fact, 78 out of every 100 are whites. It has also been assumed that most of the American poor are in the agricultural South, when, in fact, 57 out of every 100 live in the more industrialised North. The writer continues by saying: "The answer to poverty is jobs, and in America six men out of every 100 are jobless." Even that is not a true picture, men in work live in poverty.

The effect of poverty is seen in the schools. At one Chicago elementary school 1,000 students enrol every autumn and most of them leave before the following June because their parents have been evicted, have left the district to seek

work elsewhere, or have given up and returned in desperation to the land.

So illiteracy goes on. The parents prefer—or are forced—to put their children to labour on the land in order to eke out a miserable existence. One recent survey showed that nearly half a million children between the ages of ten and fifteen worked on the land. It also showed that in 20 out of every 100 accidents on the farm it was children who suffered injuries. The desperate march away from the land is reproduced in most of the major cities—New York, Los Angeles, Philadelphia, Detroit, St. Louis, Cleveland and Washington. In the last decade a vast migration of 27 million men, women and children have left the land; many of them to find equal poverty in the towns.

J. E. ROE.

## THE PASSING SHOW continued from page 188

account of the dangers of fall-out from the Chinese tests occurring in the meantime. It is interesting to note, incidentally, one of the ways in which the Chinese preparations were discovered—American Camera carrying Samos satellites were orbited over China, so those of you who thought that satellites were a "peaceful" project will have to think again.

When the test ban treaty was signed, we were not very popular for saying then that it would make no essential difference and that the threat of war was in no way lessened. While Pat Arrowsmith and other misguided CND'ers were welcoming it with sighs of relief, China was quietly developing her own bomb. Fast on the heels of France, she is the fifth capitalist power to do so. Who will be next? Perhaps Western Germany will have a go. Some of her politicians have been in favour of it for some time.

Just like the other nuclear powers, China will lose no time in wielding her bomb as a diplomatic weapon. Maybe we shall hear renewed demands from Peking for her government's recognition

and a seat at the United Nations. And this time the U.S. will have to think twice before refusing. Almost certainly the parleys of the future will include Mao's men and the conference tables will be that much bigger. So will the squabbles.

Some of the facts are now known about the exploding of the first U.S. A. Bomb at Hiroshima, of the cold-blooded calculations which went into its production, of the chicanery and double dealing between the so-called allies, and of the alleged deliberate prolongation of the war to enable it to be used against the Japanese. Perhaps some day we will learn something also of the intrigues which have undoubtedly taken place since then, as one power after another has got its own bomb and intensified the frightful prospect of obliteration.

The futility and tragic waste of it all are glaringly obvious despite the hollow hypocrisy of capitalist statesmen. This is all that capitalism can offer us in the world where the potential for human welfare is immense.

F. T. C.

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## The Passing Show

### Day to Day Struggle—Matches Front.

Under this heading we featured a news snippet in the August, 1949 *Standard*. Willie Gallacher, then Communist M.P. for East Fife, was asking the Chancellor of the Exchequer not to allow a half-penny increase in the cost of a box of matches. He suggested "some other way of assisting the manufacturers to meet the cost of production" (a subsidy perhaps?).

That was not very long after the end of the war and we wonder what he would be saying about that today, because the Russian and other Eastern bloc countries are now exporting matches to this country in quite huge quantities. According to *The Guardian* of September 14, a large proportion of the extra 28,800,000 boxes arriving from abroad last year came from Russia, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. And that's not all, for these matches are being sold to the trade at prices lower than the cost price of their British counterparts.

Would Mr. Gallacher be so concerned about the British Match industry now that the Soviet countries are beginning to compete so effectively? If British match Corporation Chairman, Lord Portal, were to announce a price increase now, our "Communist" friends would probably oppose it and demand bigger imports of the Eastern European brands to keep prices down. They are not, you see, opposed to trade competition as such, but only when it jeopardises Russian capitalist interests.

In 1964 Russian goods are being pushed onto the world's markets and while the quantities are still comparatively small in some cases, it is a sign of the times. The Soviets are trying to find outlets for timber and oil. A few years ago, Russian watches were barely known in England whereas today they compete with British and Swiss watches and can be seen in practically any jeweller's shop window.

Just how successful the Russians will be in the future is anybody's guess, but we may be sure that they will keep on trying wherever they see the chance. We have always maintained that Soviet Russia is a capitalist power and it is news like this that adds just a little extra tit-bit to the impressive weight of evidence supporting our view. Like any capitalist country, she must sooner or later start looking to outside markets and do battle

with the other giants. This will doubtless be welcomed by the slavish C.P. membership, but we can see it only as an addition to the sum total of already fierce competition and the conflicts which are the breeding ground of war.

### New Robbers for Old.

Since the end of the last war, many of the old colonies have won independence, and amidst the cheers and celebrations, we have been the only ones to point out that one set of masters has merely been replaced by another, and that for workers it was certainly not a time for cheering. Time is once again proving the soundness of our claim. India, Ghana, and Indonesia, to name only three, have their ruling class well in the saddle, and striking workers are discovering that a crack on the head from a native policeman's truncheon is just as unpleasant as one from his white predecessor.

And when the new capitalists take over, they follow the usual course of building up their industries, attracting the necessary capital and getting their workers trained to produce the all-important surplus value. In some cases, they cast greedy eyes in the direction of assets owned by foreign capitalists, particularly where a well developed industry is involved; then they move in and take over "in the name of the people." This has happened, for instance, in Indonesia, and much of the squabbling in the Congo has centred round the mineral exploitation rights held formerly by Belgian capitalists.

The latest example to make news has been Zambia—or Northern Rhodesia as it was known until October 24th. There has been an almighty row over the mineral rights of the British South Africa Company (BSA). Apparently these are worth about £7 millions a year at present and with the approach of independence, the N. Rhodesian Government lost no time in challenging the treaties under which the rights are guaranteed. They have got together an impressive band of lawyers and economists to prove that many of the sixty years old concessions by the tribal chiefs to Cecil Rhodes' company are "illegal." In the words of the N. Rhodesian Government's white paper of September 21st:—

There are certainly areas of Northern Rhodesia . . . where the authority of the Paramount Chief of Barotseland, on which the mineral rights in the western part of the territory are based, never ran. . . . They include the Nkana and Nchanga

mines, representing not far short of half the copper production of the territory.

The British Government has tried to safeguard the interests of this company, among others, by putting a protective clause into the independence agreement, but at the time of writing it looks as if this is something that Kaunda's boys will not wear. If they do not get agreement in London they promise to take the necessary political measures at home after the new state has been established.

Now it is undeniable that the British South Africa Company have made huge profits out of this area, from which is produced about fourteen per cent. of the world's annual copper output. Since 1889 they have received £135 millions, and stand to get another £154 millions before the royalty agreement expires in 1986. Compare this with the £10 per year "enjoyed" by most African families in the rural areas. No wonder BSA are so anxious to hold on to what they have. No wonder, too, that other British mining and commercial interests are worried. They fear antagonism and perhaps expropriation if the matter is not settled quickly.

But having said all this, we are back once again to our opening remarks. Whoever wins this battle, it will make precious little difference to those £10 a year families, or to any other Zambian worker. For them, it will still mean exploitation as usual. For their masters, business as usual—perhaps the profits will go into new pockets, that's all.

### New Club Member.

China is about to join the nuclear club. By the time you read this, she may well have exploded her first atom bomb. To the man in the street this does not make very happy reading, for no one in his right mind can view other than with horror the fact that yet another threat to his life is looming on the horizon. The press and politicians have not unexpectedly tried to play down the whole business. "Western experts believe the bomb will be a primitive affair," says Peter Fairley in the *Evening Standard* of September 30. "Nobody expects the Chinese A-device to be a viable military threat for at least four years."

Well perhaps you can get a crumb of comfort from the thought that you will have at least four years before you are atomised by a Chinese bomb—that's if somebody else doesn't start something beforehand. And, of course, it takes no

(Continued on bottom page 187)



# Socialist Standard

Official Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland

**SMETHWICK MOLT  
EN STEEL LABOURS  
100 DAYS MONOPO  
LY IN YOUTH IS PLE  
ASURE AUSTRALIA**

Vol 60. No 724.

December 1964 | 6d



## Socialist Party OF GREAT BRITAIN

### OBJECT

The establishment of a system of society based upon the common ownership and democratic control of the means and instruments for producing and distributing wealth by and in the interest of the whole community.

### DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN holds:

1] That Society as at present constituted is based upon the ownership of the means of living (i.e., land, factories, railways, etc.) by the capitalist or master class, and the consequent enslavement of the working class by whose labour alone wealth is produced.

2] That in society, therefore, there is an antagonism of interests, manifesting itself as a class struggle, between those who possess but do not produce, and those who produce but do not possess.

3] That this antagonism can be abolished only by the emancipation of the working class from the domination of the master class, by the conversion into the common property of society of the means of production and distribution, and their democratic control by the whole people.

4] That as in the order of social evolution the working class is the last class to achieve its freedom the emancipation of the working class will involve the emancipation of all mankind without distinction of race or sex.

5] That this emancipation must be the work of the working class itself.

6] That as the machinery of government, including the armed forces of the nation, exists only to conserve the monopoly by the capitalist class of the wealth taken from the workers, the working class must organise consciously and politically for the conquest of the powers of government, national and local, in order that this machinery, including these forces, may be converted from an instrument of oppression into the agent of emancipation and the overthrow of privilege, aristocratic and plutocratic.

7] That as all political parties are but the expression of class interests, and as the interest of the working class is diametrically opposed to the interests of all sections of the master class, the party seeking working-class emancipation must be hostile to every other party.

8] The SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN, therefore, enters the field of political action determined to wage war against all other political parties, whether alleged labour or avowedly capitalist, and calls upon the members of the working class of this country to muster under its banner to the end that a speedy termination may be wrought to the system which deprives them of the fruits of their labour, and that poverty may give place to comfort, privilege to equality, and slavery to freedom.

Those agreeing with the above principles and desire enrolment in the Party should apply for membership form to secretary of nearest branch or at Head Office.

Visitors are cordially invited to every meeting

## SPGB Branches

**BIRMINGHAM** Thursdays 8 pm, "Big Bulls Head," Digbeth. (Discussions 2nd and 4th Thursdays in month.) Correspondence: H. J. Grew, Flat 1, 37 Woodfield Road, Kings Heath, Birmingham 14.

**BLOOMSBURY** Thursdays 8 pm 3rd and 17th Dec. Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, WC1.

**BRADFORD & DISTRICT** Correspondence: SPGB, Head Office, 52 Clapham High Street, London, SW4.

**CAMBERWELL** Mondays 8.30 pm, 52 Clapham High Street, SW4. Correspondence: H. Baldwin, 26 Trelawn Road, SW2.

**DARTFORD** 1st and 3rd Fridays in month 8 pm 4th Dec at 7 Cyril Road, Bexleyheath (Tel. BEX 1950) and 19th Dec at 32 Ickleton Road, Motingham, SE9 (Tel: KIP 1796). Correspondence: W. G. Catt at above latter address.

**GLASGOW** Every Monday 8 pm, 163a Berkeley Street. Correspondence: A. Donnelly, 50 Doncaster Street, Glasgow, NW.

**HACKNEY** 2nd & 4th Wednesdays in month 7.30 pm, Bethnal Green Town Hall (Room 3, Patriot Square entrance). Correspondence: S. Beck, 28 Petherton Road, NS.

**ISLINGTON** Thursdays 8 pm, Co-op Hall, 129 Seven Sisters Road, N7. (Lecture or discussion after business.) Correspondence: K. Francis, SPGB, c/o above address.

**KINGSTON upon THAMES** Fridays 8 pm, 80 Farm Road, Esher, Surrey. Correspondence: SPGB at above address.

**LEWISHAM** Mondays 8 pm Co-op Hall (Room 1), Davenport Road, Rushey Green, Catford, SE6. Correspondence: SPGB, Co-op Hall, Davenport Road, SE6.

## SPGB Groups

**BRIGHTON** 3rd Friday in month, 18 Nicholas Rd., Enquiries: B. Nelson, above address.

**BRISTOL** Enquiries: J. Flowers, 6 Backfields (Upper York Street), Bristol 2. Tel: 24680.

**BROMLEY** For further information contact I. Robertson Phone Farnborough (Kent) 51719.

**EARLS COURT & DISTRICT** Interesting discussions, regular meetings. Further details: L. Cox, 13 Shelly House, Churchill Gdns., SW1. Tel: VIC 0427.

**MID HERTS** Regular meetings at Welwyn Garden City and Stevenage. For details see meetings page 202, and write: Ken Knight, 30 Broom Close, Hatfield, Herts. (Phone Hatfield 4802).

## WSPI Branches

**BELFAST** Tuesdays 8 pm, 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

**DUBLIN** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 5 Seville Terrace, North Strand Dublin 1.

**ARMAGH** Regular meetings. Details from Secretary: 20 Druids Villas, Armagh City, Co. Armagh.

**NOTTINGHAM** 2nd Wednesday in month (9th Dec.) 8 pm, Peoples Hall, Heathcoat Street. Correspondence: G. Hallam, 14 Church Drive Carrington, Nottingham.

**PADDINGTON & MARYLEBONE** Wednesdays 8.30 pm, Royal Oak, York Street, W1 (near Marylebone Rd.). Correspondence: SPGB, 76 Ladbroke Grove, W11.

**SOUTH EAST ESSEX** Mondays 7th & 21st Dec. Room 3 Community Centre, (Off the Gore) Basilion, 8 pm Correspondence: A. Partner, 28 Hambro Hill, Raleigh.

**SWANSEA** 1st and 3rd Monday (2nd and 16th Nov.) in month 8 pm, 68 Bryn Road (bottom flat) Correspondence to P. Mellor, 13 Waterloo Place, Brynmill, Swansea.

**WEMBLEY** Mondays 8 pm, Barham Old Court, Barham Park, near Sudbury Town Station, Wembley. Correspondence: R. G. Cain, 35 Waltham Rd., Southall, Middx.

**WEST HAM** 2nd and 4th Thursdays (10th and 24th Dec.) in month 8 pm, Salisbury Road Schools Manor Park, E12. (Discussions from 9 pm.) Correspondence D. Deutz, 117 Pettit's Lane, Romford, Essex.

**WEST LONDON** Fridays 8 pm, Westcott Lodge, Lower Mall, Hammersmith (facing river few minutes from Broadway). Correspondence: B. Warnock, 158 Whitton Avenue East, Greenford, Middx.

**WOOD GREEN & HORNSEY** Fridays 8.30 pm, 17 Dorset Road, N.22. Correspondence to: E. L. McKone at above address.

**WOOLWICH** 2nd and 4th Fridays (11th and 25th Dec.) in month 7.30 pm, Town Social Club Mason's Hill, SE18. (Discussions at 8 pm.) Correspondence: H. C. Ramsay, 9 Milne Gardens, Eltham, SE9.

**MANCHESTER** Enquiries: M. Hopwood, St. Martins Rd., Ashton on Mersey, Sale. Nr. Manchester. Tel. PYR 2404.

**MITCHAM & DISTRICT** Enquiries: T. Lord 288 Church Road, Mitcham.

**NEWPORT & DISTRICT** Enquiries: M. Harris, c/o University Hall of Residence, Neuadd Gilbertson Blackpill, Swansea.

**OLDHAM** Wednesdays 7.30 pm, 35 Manchester Street. Enquiries: R. Lees at above address. Tel: MAI 5165.

**OXFORD** Regular meetings monthly, contact A. Robertson, 52 Henley St., Oxford. Tel. 47302.

**REDHILL** Enquiries: A. A. Kamp, 19 Ashcombe Road, Mersham, Redhill, Surrey.

**SUNDERLAND** Details of meetings from P. Toomey, 9 Gillingham Road, Grindon Estate Sunderland, Co. Durham.

**CENTRAL** Details from Secretary, 24 Newington Avenue, Belfast 15.

**LISBURN** Discussion group meets regularly. Details from B. McCloskey c/o Head Office.

**PORTADOWN & DISTRICT** Would persons interested in the formation of a discussion group contact group secretary c/o 5 Granville Buildings 53 High Street, Belfast 1.

## Socialist Standard

Journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and the World Socialist Party of Ireland



### SOCIALIST PARTY OF GREAT BRITAIN

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets every Tuesday at the SPGB Head Office, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4, at 7.30 p.m.

Orders for LITERATURE should be sent to the Literature Department, SPGB, at the above address.

CORRESPONDENCE for the Executive Committee should be sent to the General Secretary, SPGB, 52, Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4 (Telephone: Macaulay 3811).

Letters containing POSTAL ORDERS etc., should be sent to E. LAKE, SPGB, at the above address. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to the SPGB.

Articles, correspondence, notices of meetings, etc., for the SOCIALIST STANDARD should be sent to the Socialist Standard Production Committee, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4.

### WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF IRELAND

The EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE meets 4th Sunday of each month at the Head Office, 5 Granville Buildings, 53 High Street, Belfast 1, at 3.30 pm. Next meeting November 22nd.

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## Molten steel

Over the past few years, the steel industry has become a sort of political shuttlecock, bouncing back and forth between nationalisation and de-nationalisation. The last Labour government took it under State control and later on their Tory successors sold most of it back to private investors. Now, with the arrival of Wilson's government, it looks as if steel may well be buffeted about the Commons again, and once more find itself a state industry.

Nationalisation of any industry is not something which is done in the interests of the working class, and is not therefore worthy of their support. The capitalist class may squabble among themselves about whether a particular industry is in need of state control, but these arguments revolve around investment, competitiveness, profitability, etc., things which are dear to any capitalist's heart, but of no concern to workers. In the light of this, it is interesting to read the press reports of Parliament's first debate on steel this session. There were fierce words and a government majority of seven, but pro-nationalisation sentiment was by no means confined to the Labour benches.

The burden of the government's case was that steel had become a dangerous monopoly, keeping prices up and "holding the nation to ransom". Their answer is to create a state monopoly in place of the private one and so make sure that the capitalist class as a whole shall have direct control over it. From the capitalist point of view there is an argument for state control, at least of the main sections of the industry. The phenomenal growth of the motor car industry, for example, has highlighted the importance of steel in a highly competitive world. And if, as Mr. Lee claims, private investors are simply unable to find the huge sums for new plant and modernisation, then the state will have to step in and do it instead. An assured supply of cheap steel is vital to modern capitalist economy. Steel has, in fact, become a "basic industry".

What of the attitude of the other parties in the Commons on this issue? In the debate of November 9th, the Tories said they were uncompromisingly opposed to the government's proposals, but even their fiery spokesman Iain Macleod had to admit that whoever had won the election, there would have had to be "careful and detailed talks" with the steel bosses—in other words more state direction and control. Successive Conservative governments have never been slow to order the steel firms about anyway. It was at their insistence that the unprofitable Ravenscraig strip mill was foisted on Colvilles. The Liberal Party wants a truce in the fight, but is certainly not opposed to nationalisation in principle. That much was clear from Mr. Hooson's speech. More competition is their cry, and a mixture of state and private enterprise, one battling against the other for sales.

There was a time when nationalisation was advocated by the Labour Party with a heavy accent on the benefits which they claimed would accrue to the workers. This was the case in the coal mines, for example; state control was supposed to be the only answer to the miners' problems. In the case of steel this argument was barely whispered. Nobody bothered to use "workers' interests" even as a propaganda gimmick, and the arguments from all parts were almost entirely about the ability of British steel to maintain itself against foreign competition. Yet despite this, and the bitter disillusionment of other nationalised industries—particularly under Labour government—Mr. Lee was still able to claim the support of the unions in the steel industry for his government's proposals.

The experience of nationalised industries should have shown the futility of supporting these measures. In the industries which have been taken over, workers are still in the same basic position as before. They still have to work for wages and their efforts to improve their pay and conditions are resisted just as stoutly by the government boards as by the old boards of directors. Capitalism continues unmolested and Socialism, in which all the means of production and distribution will be owned by society, is no nearer than before.



## THE NEWS IN REVIEW

## AT HOME

## Youth

The latest news is it's with it to be young!

You can be a Mod or a Rocker and make a nuisance of yourself at the seaside in the summer. Or you can be a Beatles fan and make a nuisance of yourself, off and on, at London Airport all the year round.

You can twiddle your transistor and you can wear the latest snazzy clothes.

You can be a young criminal; about half of all indictable crimes are committed by people under twenty-one. Or you can be one of the rising number of cases of venereal disease; Dr. Leslie Weatherhead recently told the Public Morality Council (wow!) in London that he thought your sexual behaviour was "verging on a national disaster."

Yes, you're with it. Nobody's ever been like you before and nobody's ever going to be brilliant enough to be like you in the future.

But what else did that old square Weatherhead say about you?

I am sure that if there was another war they would give their lives for their country just as readily as my own generation has done.

And do you know he's probably right, except that you haven't got a country to give your life for.

Let's have a look at you, youngster. There are plenty of mealy-mouthed sociologists, religicos, politicians, newspapermen, who try to kid us that you're socially significant. They make long, dull speeches and they write long, dull articles trying to prove that you are in revolt.

They say that you break and enter because you're dissatisfied with society. You catch a dose because you are bewildered by the pace, the pressures and the priorities of modern capitalism.

Well you're not the first person to get het up about such things. Your mum and dad were het up, just after the last war. They thought everything would be alright if they voted Labour. Your grandparents were het up after 1918. They went on hunger marches, maybe they even signed the Peace Pledge. They thought they were going places, while the squares of those days held their hands up in horror.

But when the crunch came they were no better than the rest. In capitalism's hour of need they were not found want-

ing. They joined up and gave their young, frustrated, bewildered lives—or helped to kill equally confused and hapless people on the other side.

And while this was going on the people who are *really* het up—the people who have understood the problems of society and have thought their way to an answer—were quietly and steadfastly making their stand.

They have seen many het ups like you come and go, these people, and they are not impressed by them; they know that they all end up the same way. They even regard some of the het ups—again like you—as one of the problems to get het up about.

Think about that, the next time you go on a rave. It's with it to be young but if you don't do something soon none of us may be with anything any more.

## The exiles' return

It is difficult to decide how best to describe it.

Expediency? Resilience? Forgetfulness, perhaps? Whatever it is, no politician who aspires to the heights should be without it.

We all remember the late Aneurin Bevan, who spent a lot of time upsetting his colleagues on the Labour Front Bench but who could always reconcile himself to eventually uniting with those same colleagues. Before he died, Bevan had managed to forget that Hugh Gaitskill was a "desiccated calculating machine" and was Gaitskill's most loyal and useful deputy.

Consider now the cases of Mr. Ian Macleod and Mr. Enoch Powell. Both of these men have recently returned to the Conservative Front Bench, and both have an interesting history.

Mr. Macleod once seemed to be Macmillan's favourite son; it was even whispered that he was sure to take over the Tory Party when Supremacy finally gave up. But Macleod got the hot seat of Colonial Affairs, which cost him a lot of favour among the Settler lobby (Lord Salisbury called him "too clever by half"). So it came about that when Macmillan resigned, although Macleod fancied his chances, he was never really in the running for the leadership.

Macleod showed his pique—or whatever it was—by refusing to serve under Douglas-Home and by taking himself off to the editorship of *The Spectator*, from which vantage point he bombarded his

party with a sensational article which attacked the "magic circle" who selected Sir Alec as Prime Minister.

Now for Mr. Powell. He is one of the knobbiest of politicians, one who must be getting to know the way back from the self-imposed wilderness. He resigned from the Conservative government at the same time as Thorneycroft threw in the Chancellorship (Mr. Macmillan's "little local difficulty"), came back at the Ministry of Health in the big reshuffle in July 1962 (although the policies he had resigned over were still operative) and finally refused to continue in the government when Douglas-Home became Premier. For this last refusal, characteristically, Mr. Powell gave no reason.

Since then, Powell has got into the headlines with some dourly reactionary speeches which have been too much even for Mr. Quintin Hogg, who called him "a sort of Mai Tse-tung of Toryism." (Soon after that Mr. Powell likened Harold Wilson to Louis XIV, which proved that beneath that grim exterior there lurks something like a sense of humour.)

It is evident that both Macleod and Powell have been able to forget, or suppress, or what you will, the memory of those days they spent on the outside looking in. They could not bring themselves to work under Sir Alec when he was Prime Minister but it is apparently a different matter now that he is only Leader of the Opposition.

But there has been no political change to justify this reversal. So what else could have changed? Could it be the men themselves? Or could it be that the Conservative defeat has thrown the leadership struggle wide open once more?

Both Macleod and Powell have posed as men of inflexible principle. We are accustomed now to high flown speeches and dramatic political gestures. Underneath them, a politician is a politician for all that.

## ABROAD

## Kruschchev goes

What with the fall of Mr. Kruschchev, and the return of President Johnson to the White House, the last few weeks have been a busy time for the political seers.

These gentlemen have all been hard at work, speculating on what the Brezhnev/Kosygin dictatorship will mean for the future of the Soviet Union. They have all been analysing the portents for the

United States, now that the votes there have so decisively confirmed the Democratic Party—or at any rate that part of it which sticks to the Johnson line—in power.

This all makes interesting reading on a winter Sunday afternoon but apart from that is worth very little. Government policies, in all countries, are largely mapped out for them by the conditions of capitalism at large. Sometimes these conditions force a new government to go directly against their election programmes, as they forced the Roosevelt administration in 1932. The New Deal, far from being a policy which the American electorate enthusiastically voted for in advance, was hammered out after the election—the Roosevelt platform had been one of balancing the Budget as opposed to the deficit financing which his administration eventually imposed.

But whichever party comes to power runs capitalism in roughly the same way. This is not to say that different governments do not bring any changes at all; only that whatever changes they may bring are quite insignificant. A Goldwater administration would probably have cut back the Democratic plans for limited spending on what are called social services. The new Russian government may launch a cautious peace offensive against China.

None of these changes affects the basis of society, and it is this basis which lays down the policies of governments. Johnson will have to live with, and may find his plans upset by, the international disputes of capitalism. Over these disputes hangs the massive threat of a nuclear clash. Brezhnev and Kosygin have the same problems, and they approach them in the same way as the American ruling class; one of their early appearances was at the parade in the Red Square, taking the salute as the tanks and the missiles and other horror machines trundled past.

What are the limited significances of the new governments? Johnson will probably run the affairs of American capitalism in a strictly down-to-earth manner. No risky adventures for him, no posturing on the Brink, no pandering to outraged patriotic neuroses. But if ever the situation demands that the Button be pushed, Johnson's finger will not falter.

The manner of Mr. Kruschchev's going indicates that something has happened in the Soviet Union over the past twelve years. In Stalin's time, nobody was eased out of power on the excuse that they were ill; to lose favour was to face the execution squad. The fact that the big in-

fluence in Russia now seems to be shared by two men may mean that the present is a short interregnum from which another, undisputed dictator may emerge, much as Kruschchev himself did.

But none of these speculations, or changes, are worth bothering about. Whatever the political complexion of a government, and whatever promises it may have had to make to get power, it is largely helpless when gripped by the events of capitalism. The lives of the working class—the ordinary people—in Russia and the United States will be essentially unaffected by changes at the Top.

Which means that the skilfully organised vote in the Kremlin, and all those hands which Johnson shook, did not mean a thing.

## POLITICS

## Committee of 100

Stand by for another amazing performance by those ever-ready masters of double-think, double-speak, double-act—the Committee of 100.

For those of you who have just come in, the Committee of 100 were, not so long ago, the reckless dare-devils whose tactics of direct action were going to force the government to renounce nuclear weapons. They packed Trafalgar Square. They sat down in Whitehall. They were arrested by the score, the aged Earl Russell among them.

They had all manner of offshoots, like the Spies for Peace, who thought that they were helping to get rid of the Bomb by revealing the whereabouts of the emergency government centres.

They got up to all sorts of gimmicks, like planting Trees of Peace inside the wire of the bomber bases and holding an auction outside to sell off the aircraft.

They were a lively bunch.

But while this was going on the British government were turning out their Bomb and so were the Americans and the Russians and the French and the Chinese and goodness knows who else.

Then a funny thing happened. Or rather, several funny things.

First of all the Committee of 100 started to organise a lot of demonstrations about things which have nothing to do with the Bomb. Things like housing. Like industrial relations. The Greek government. (Some of them were framed by Detective Sergeant Challenor.) Racial disputes.

Then Earl Russell made it quite clear that the days of his demanding total, unilateral renunciation of the Bomb were over. He was, he said, now prepared to welcome "partial measures . . . as, for example, the lessening of military budgets . . ."

Did this cause second thoughts in the Committee? At any rate, some of its prominent members decided that its activities were becoming too remote from its original object, and they threatened to resign unless the Committee got back to the simpler proposition of Ban the Bomb.

But the Committee of 100 are still at it. Their latest idea, according to *The Guardian*, of 29th October, is a " . . . series of study groups in an attempt to bring together Greek and Turkish Cypriots, Arabs and Israelis and to discover the facts behind the tensions in South Africa."

The only sensible reaction to this is to wonder what sort of a dreamworld the Committee of 100 are living in.

Greeks and Turks are not fighting each other in Cyprus because nobody has thought of running a study group to bring them together. The same is true of the Arabs and Israelis. And, after the millions of words which have been written on the racial problem in South Africa, it is amazing that the Committee should think that their puny study group can add anything of any value.

These problems, just like the others which the Committee of 100 dabbled in in the past, are bound up with the tensions and disputes of property society. The Bomb itself springs from those very disputes. There is only one way to abolish them, altogether and at once.

That is to end capitalism and replace it

## Companion Parties

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF AUSTRALIA

Sydney (callers) 46 Carlotta St, Greenwich, N.S.W. or correspondence: P.O. Box 2291 P.O. Sydney N.S.W.  
Melbourne P.O. Box 1440 Melbourne.

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF CANADA

P.O. Box 115 Winnipeg, Manitoba.

## SOCIALIST PARTY OF NEW ZEALAND

P.O. Box 62 Petone.  
P.O. Box 1929 Auckland.

## WORLD SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

11 Faneuil Hall Sq., Boston 9, Mass.



with Socialism.

And what does the Committee of 100 do towards that? Exactly nothing. In fact, with their contradictory propaganda and their inconsistent activities they only add their weight to the many other organisations which confuse the working class. In that is their indictment.

The Committee of 100 obstruct society's progress towards the world of freedom and brotherhood. When they finally go out of their confused and hapless existence there should be not a glimmer of regret.

## BUSINESS

### Fifteen per cent

Ask the Man In The Street to tell you how the price of a commodity is fixed and he will probably reply that the manufacturer finds out its cost of production, adds on a bit for his profit and that's that.

There is no need to be an economics don to suspect that there is something wrong with that theory. What fixes the cost of production itself? Are there no limits to the amount added on for profit? What happens to the price if another manufacturer undercuts?

These questions were all given an airing when the government imposed the fifteen per cent import levy. The popular notion is that an increase in duty inevitably means an increase in price—and, presumably, that a decrease in duty means a decrease in price.

Even before the latest surcharge, there was abundant evidence to refute that notion. For example, some years ago certain types of steel were allowed into this country duty free, because there was a severe shortage of the stuff. But as the British steel industry's productive capacity caught up with its orders the government came under pressure to abolish the duty concession.

This they eventually did. Now what happened to the price of imported steel? Such was the competition between the steel companies that the Dutch state steel works at IJmuiden actually reduced their price to take account of the duty, so that British car makers could continue to buy Dutch steel at the same price as from the Steel Company of Wales.

This does not always happen. If their market allows them to, some manufacturers may pass on an increase in duty or tax. Others may actually be able to put up their prices by more than the extra duty. Others may have to absorb the extra, wholly or partly, themselves.

Here are a few of the different reac-

tions to the new fifteen per cent surcharge.

Harvey's put their port and sherry up by 6d. a bottle. Canon (Geneva) absorbed the entire surcharge on their best-selling Canonet camera. In motor cars, the reactions were various: Saab (Sweden) raised their prices by anything up to £66. Renault (France) put up their prices, but on average over all their models by only 1.55 per cent, much less than the extra duty. Mercedes (Germany) increased the prices of all their models except their smaller 220, which is unchanged. Volvo (Sweden) bore most of the levy themselves, raising their prices by less than one third of the fifteen per cent.

We do not have to look far for the reason for these varied reactions. Renault's increases were about the same as those recently imposed by the British car makers. Mercedes held the price of the 220 because it is a comparatively new model, in a range which they do not want to price themselves out of.

In other words, the foreign car firms considered the surcharge with both eyes on their competitive prospects in the British market. The board rooms of Ford and B.M.C. must be under no delusion that they can now luxuriate behind a comfortable tariff wall. They know they have to take account of the market forces of capitalism at large and its pressures on the fluctuations in prices.

### "THE OBSERVER" and the SPGB

The following is an extract from *The Observer* (Oct. 9) to which the Party wrote in protest at the reference to the S.P.G.B.

Everywhere around Glasgow, the contrast in political styles is striking. On the Left, they speak with tongues of the old Clydeside fire, preaching a new society, teaching their audiences a total view of socialist justice and democracy. All have something of the Trotskyite poster in Woodside which snarls at the citizen "Don't vote for the S.P.G.B. (Socialist Party of Great Britain) candidate unless you understand and want Socialism."

We publish, without comment, the

Observer's reply:

*The Observer*, 29th October, 1964.

Dear Sir,

I have now heard from Neal Ascherson, to whom I referred your letter of October 11. After helping us in cover-

ing the election campaign he returned to his post as our resident Correspondent in Germany; hence there was some delay in reaching him. He writes:

"I think I should apologise without reserve to the members of the S.P.G.B. for calling them Trotskyite, I was mixing them up in my hurried head with the Socialist Labour League, and there is no excuse for that. I still think that 'snarl' expressed the shock of hostility experienced by a reader of the S.P.G.B.'s fiercely honest and uncompromising poster."

I'm very sorry we can't clarify this point now in our correspondence columns—it would be rather out of date and there is room for so few of all the letters—but we will take care not to make any such mistake again.

Yours faithfully,

(Signed) Charles Davey,  
Assistant Editor.

Successful meetings are being held every Sunday evening at 2, Soho Square, London W.1. (Near Tottenham Court Road Tube Station.) The Bloomsbury Branch have arranged these meetings, their first in Central London for many years. Prior to, and during the war, regular meetings had been successfully held and the Branch have been searching for a suitable Central London venue with a view to re-commencing indoor propaganda. The hall at 2, Soho Square, is comfortable, warm and pleasant, and already the attendances have been very good.

As is usual with all SPGB meetings our visitors are invited to discuss, and ask questions. The hall is available from 7.30 and meetings commence at 8 p.m. promptly. For a forward list of meetings please refer to details under "Meetings" column in this issue. A small plan gives directions of the situation of the hall.

## 100 days that will not shake the world

THE dear old ladies of Cheltenham can come out from hiding in the cupboard and the grizzle-headed sons of toil can stop throwing their cloth caps into the air. There will be no revolution, as of yet.

The Labour Government, now about six weeks old, won the Election on a programme called *The New Britain*. Somewhere buried in the pages of that manifesto the word Socialist makes just two hasty, shamefaced appearances. Nowhere was the programme indiscreet enough to attempt a definition of Socialism. But in Cheltenham and Bermondsey this is a mere detail; the very mention of the word is enough to frighten some, and to enrapture others. In reality, nobody had any reason for getting excited about the new government, and Mr. Wilson's men soon got down to the job of convincing them of this.

During the Election, the Labour leader asked that his administration be granted a First Hundred Days, as new American governments are, to settle into the saddle and take up the reins of government. This idea caught on. *The Guardian*, which lately has leaned over backwards not to be beastly to the Labour Party, is co-operating by publishing a little diary of the period, recording events like: "To meet expected £800 million deficit Government announced 15 per cent levy on all imports except..." and "Letter to Prime Minister from Institution of Professional Civil Servants complaining..." This was a rather cosy idea but perhaps Mr. Wilson had little time for such indulgences. He was busy.

The new Prime Minister immediately showed that he meant business. On his first Sunday in office he went along to Ten Downing Street dressed in a nondescript sports jacket and baggy trousers. The press loved this but the tailoring world took a rather different point of view. They were obviously afraid that the Wilson look might catch on, leaving a lot of suavely fashioned jackets and elegantly tapered trousers on their hands. Yet Wilson's rumpled appearance that Sunday was probably due to anything but absent mindedness. He has always promoted the image of himself as the ex-grammar schoolboy—the placid, earnest middle-class fellow made good. Just the chap, in fact, who always wears comfortable sports clothes on a Sunday. That jacket and those trousers were politically comfortable. The new Premier was dressed as carefully as if he had been turned out in Saville Row.

From the energetic man in Number Ten came the lists of Labour's Ministers. Mr. Frank Cousins could forget about the days of strife when he went on Aldermaston marches and swung his union's massive vote in favour of the Labour Party going unilateralist. His new job gave him responsibility for this country's military nuclear research. There was a Minister of Defence, Mr. Healey, to work hard to make weapons and a Minister of Disarmament, Mr. Alun Gwynne-Jones, who is supposed to get rid of them. There were all the usual appointments of men to look after the economic, commercial and financial affairs of British capitalism. The list got longer and longer—far more than Sir Alec had had—which showed that Mr. Wilson meant to play his part in producing more, even if it was only jobs for politicians.

Yet there were still doubts and fears. The Wilson Government was said, by people who pretend to understand such terms, to be too "left wing." There was the Prime Minister himself. There was Frank Cousins, Dick Crossman, Barbara Castle. All of them dangerous revolutionaries. Perhaps there were capitalists who were thinking it would not be long now before they returned after a hard day on the grouse moors to find that their servants had taken over the stately homes. *The New Britain* had promised that the Labour Government "... will frame the broad strategy for increasing investment..."

but what capitalist was going to want to invest when he might any day come home to find the under gardener with his feet up on the library table just finishing out the best brandy? Clearly, something had to be done to reassure them.

It was Mr. Ray Gunter, Minister of Labour, who spoke first. His subject was the dockers, and he was not diverted from saying his piece by the fact that he could easily be mistaken for a dockworker himself. Mr. Gunter is one of Labour's tough guys and likes to think himself as a blunt speaker. There was, of course, no need for him to be blunt about the dockers taking anything over; nothing was further from their intentions. They were only after another twenty-five shillings in their weekly pay packets, and some of them were sufficiently keen on this to think the negotiators on both sides might be persuaded to hurry things along a bit if they (the dockers) went on unofficial strike.

Now to Mr. Gunter, on what he called the bed of nails at the Ministry of Labour, there is nothing worse than an unofficial strike. Such a strike might even upset the trade of British capitalism, or indirectly cut the profits of some exporting capitalists. So he spoke out. The dockers' threatened walk-out, he said, could "... only lead to anarchy, I strongly condemn such action."

This was heartening stuff to the employers, who in their sillier moments might have imagined that a Labour Government stood for improved wages. The National Association of British Manufacturers promptly sent Mr. Gunter a telegram which "warmly welcomed" his intervention and offered him "any assistance" they could give.

Mr. Douglas Jay was another member of the new government who seemed rather nervous about the effect of Labour's undeserved reputation for revolutionary hellfire. Mr. Jay is now President of the Board of Trade and he is obviously anxious to do all he can to maintain the economic interests of Britain's ruling class so that they still have some Trade for him to be President of the Board of. It did not take him long to arrange a visit to his counterparts in Red China, in the hope of drumming up some export orders. But before he went Mr. Jay made it quite clear, in case anyone should get the wrong idea while he was away, that the British capitalist class has absolutely nothing to fear from a Labour Government:

The new Government (he said) starts with no prejudice or bias whatever against private business and industry. ... Profits, provided they are earned by efficiency and technical progress, and not by restrictive practices or abuse of monopoly, are the sign of a healthy economy.

The response to this was immediate: "Mr. Jay cheers the stock markets" (*The Guardian*); "Jay's Assurances Help Equity Shares" (*Daily Telegraph*); "There was hardly anything Mr. Jay said ... to which an enlightened industrialist or merchant banker would have hesitated to put his name." (Samuel Brittan, then Economic Editor of *The Observer*).

Directly after this Mr. Wilson reappeared on television to tell us some more about his government's plans to boost the trade of British capitalism. Mr. Wilson was grave and purposeful, and had clearly been having some attention from the make-up men. He attacked wildcat strikes and restrictive practices. His government had that very day announced the fifteen per cent surcharge on imports, but that was a restrictive practice which escaped Mr. Wilson's condemnation.

The effect of this surcharge is to alter the Customs regulations so that, for example, "wood sawn lengthwise, sliced or peeled ... of a thickness exceeding five millimetres" is allowed into the country at the old rate of duty, while "... wood planed, tongued, grooved, rebated, chamfered, V-jointed,



centre V-jointed, beaded, centre beaded . . . must bear the new levy. In the same way, "Clothing, clothing accessories . . . showing signs of appreciable wear . . ." escape the surcharge, while clothing which does not show signs of "appreciable wear" cost its importers another fifteen per cent duty.

It was apparently part of Labour's contribution to productivity to set a vast array of customs officers, shipping clerks and the like to work calculating and paying this extra duty. Perhaps somebody was grateful for this; at the same time as they imposed the new levy, the government gave a hand-out in the shape of a tax rebate to firms which are in the export trade. This rebate, also, will take a lot of working out, checking and cross-checking — work which will add precisely nothing to production. But the emergency measures were welcomed in the places where they know a bull market when they see one. Applauded *The Guardian*: "The response in financial markets to the Government's first economic measures was uniformly favourable." And Lord Inchcape, leading a delegation of Middle East exporters to the Board of Trade, was moved to say, "We welcome the Government's proposed tax rebate scheme."

It was thus obvious that the Labour Government were doing all in their power to reassure the British ruling class that their interests were as secure as ever. And the ruling class showed their appreciation for this considerate attitude in the usual way. The Stock Exchange, where all men are far more equal than the others outside, and which is a sensitive (some say over-sensitive) barometer of its members' prospects, responded. No shareholders sold out and fled to South America. No directors committed suicide. They just went on doing business in the normal manner:

- October 19th. Gunter's attack on the dockers. Stock Exchange "nervous . . . prices tumbling in most sections" (*The Guardian*) Steels and insurances fell sharply. *Financial Times* Index (FTI) 9.5 points down at 350.
  - October 20th. Mr. Jay's statement on private industry and profits. Recovery in gilts, steels firm. FTI 1.7 points up to 351.7.
  - October 21st. Further advance in gilts. Equities " . . . staging a strong rally" (*Daily Telegraph*). FTI 6.6 points up to 357.8.
  - October 22nd. Dockers decide on official strike for December 1st.
  - October 26th. Emergency measures announced. New account on Stock Exchange opened confidently. Gilts, electrical and engineering shares up. FTI rose 3 points to 359.6.
  - October 27th. Gilts up again. Engineering and motor shares up. Allied Ironfounders—one of the companies which have donated to Conservative Party funds—gained 1/10½d. on the day. FTI climbed to 362.8—a rise of 3.2 points.
  - October 28th. Recovery on Stock Exchange halted, as speculators sold to realise their profits. Good day for gilts. Bovis (with Sir Keith Joseph back on the board) gained 1/6d. on the day. FTI dropped 3.5 points to 359.3.
  - October 29th. Business slacker. Channel Tunnel shares one of the few to rise. FTI fell 2.8 points to 356.5.
- The Stock Exchange will continue to fluctuate, under various influences, throughout the life of the Labour Government. One thing it will not do is to go out of existence. It

is an important part of capitalism's financial mechanism and the Labour Party has no intention of abolishing capitalism. Fundamental social change is not to be the ally, nor even the nodding acquaintance, of the Wilson Ministry. They have no mandate for such change and indeed have never asked for one. To have campaigned on a programme of social revolution would have been to administer the Kiss of Death to themselves, and Mr. Wilson is a man who fights hard to stay politically alive. So he stood, in the Words of *The New Britain*, to " . . . make government itself more efficient . . . rekindle an authentic patriotic faith . . ." This vague nonsense won many more votes than Socialism, which after all is only a clearly defined solution to the hardships and contradictions of the modern world.

By their records shall we know them. The first Labour Government was famous for the personal vanity of its Ministers, for its reliance upon Liberal support and for its bungling of a prosecution. The second went down in history as the government which presided over the doubling of the unemployed, which split over the proposal to cut the dole and which finally, in part, sold out to the Tories.

The third lasted longer. They will forever be connected with the austerity of post-war England, with the wage-freeze, devaluation and the dollar gap. And they will be remembered as the government which eventually disintegrated, personally and politically, as so many of its members were killed or incapacitated by the strains of trying to control the waywardness of British capitalism.

What shall we remember the Wilson Government for? Will it, also, be swept from power by an economic tornado? Will it have to fight the unions, to impose a programme of rigid austerity? Such is the unpredictable anarchy of capitalism that the government, for all its erudite advisers, cannot know the answers to these questions.

Mr. Wilson is said to want to be remembered as the head of one of the great reforming Ministries of British history. We have been warned. There will be a spate of Bills dealing with all manner of minor anomalies. Sometimes they will be measures designed to undo the work of previous reforms. Some of them may be a little useful to working class. Most of them will be the usual shifts and compromises, the weary rearrangements of the pressures of poverty exploitation and the degrading of human beings. And when Mr. Wilson has finished capitalism will still be there, waiting for the next lot of manipulators to arrive.

There will be no revolution, as of yet. But how long the "of yet" lasts depends on the knowledge and the wishes of the people who send the manipulators back to Westminster. And that, Mr. and Mrs. Average Voter—in Cheltenham, in Bloomsbury—means you.

IVAN

#### LONDON OUTDOOR MEETINGS

**Sundays**  
Hyde Park, 3 pm  
East St., Walworth  
December 6th and 20th (noon)  
" 13th (1 pm)  
" 27th (11 am)  
**Mondays**  
Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1-2 pm  
**Thursdays**  
Tower Hill, 12.30-2 pm

## Who's against monopoly?

If the pollsters organised a canvass of the electorate on the question "are you in favour of monopoly?" they would get an almost unanimous "no." But it would mean no more than would a poll asking "are you in favour of right against wrong" or some such loaded question. Monopoly is defined to mean, an "exclusive trading right in a certain commodity or class of commerce or business." All the political parties declare themselves to be against it. In the recent General Election the outgoing Conservative government claimed merit for what it had done against monopoly and what it was prepared to do "to stimulate the forces of competition which make for efficiency and bring down prices." The Labour Party didn't think much of this and promised to tackle the problem "at its roots" and to get at "monopoly and semi-monopoly price fixing." The Liberals, too, are on the side of competition against monopoly, or so they say.

Here we have our first mystery. If three big parties are all against monopoly and have been so since the beginning of the century how is it that there is any monopoly to be tackled? The explanation is to be found in the nature of the social system in which we live. All manufacturers, traders, bankers, shipping lines, aircraft companies and so on are in business to make a profit by selling something. The most distressful situation for any one of these organisations is to find that it cannot sell its product because a competitor is in the market with a cheaper one. Faced with declining sales and the threat of bankruptcy the companies that are being driven out will consider banding together for self-protection against the successful rival. He for his part will be expanding rapidly and out of the ensuing struggle there will emerge a smaller number of larger firms, possibly a very small number on the way to establishing a near monopoly. In the years since the war mergers and take-overs have eliminated thousands of manufacturing and retailing businesses. The latest wave has washed away a lot of grocery wholesalers. In an article "*Wholesalers Combine or go under*" the *Financial Times* (13 November 1964) states that in the last decade the number of wholesalers in the grocery trade "has tumbled from some 1,200 to just over 700 today." This has happened as a direct result of competition, first from multiple and chain stores which have their own wholesaling arrangements and were taking business away from the independent shopkeepers (and thus from the grocery wholesalers) and secondly from the increasing practise of manufacturers selling direct to retailers and by-passing the grocery wholesaler altogether.

Concentration of the control of wholesaling and retailing will go further but it has a long way to go to reach the condition of such industries as chemicals, man-made fibres and steel.

The development towards monopoly in any field always provokes complaint that as competition disappears prices will be pushed up, and the demand that the government should do something about it. This is not just a problem of this century. For hundreds of years the ceaseless efforts have been going on of sellers to control the supply, and of the authorities to prevent prices being pushed up as a result. It was however accompanied by the formation of monopolies by the government itself as a means of raising revenue. At first this took the form of the government, in return for payment, allowing individuals to have the monopoly of supplying some article or other; later the government operated some services itself, likewise as a means of raising revenue, as in the Post Office. In our day the government raises vast sums through its control of the import production and distribution of alcohol and tobacco; first creating the restrictions behind which monopoly prices

can be charged, then skimming off as customs and excise duties the bulk of the monopoly price paid by the consumer.

When private monopolies or semi-monopolies are operating it depends on the kind of product and the extent to which it is in common use, whether the outcry against the monopolies will produce action by the government, to break it up or otherwise nullify it. About the middle of the last century railways were the only quick means of Transporting raw materials and manufactures from manufacturing areas to markets and ports. They were increasingly able to charge monopoly prices. Against this the manufacturers and trades generally had a common interest—it was a situation which often develops, the capitalists generally being held to ransom by a particular section of capitalists. The government, under the initiative of Gladstone, at that time a Tory, got Parliament to pass an Act giving the government power to nationalise the railways. It was a threat to the Railway managements, either curb your rapacity or be taken over.

Similar causes explain the early nationalisation of Telegraphs and Telephones, the setting up of the various Port authorities, and later the nationalisation of electricity. (In a rather different category was coal nationalised and the taking over of the steel industry. Here it was rather a question of large-scale and integrated organisation being needed for modernisation, to save industries falling behind technically and unable to solve their problems themselves in reasonable time.)

The attitude of the general body of capitalists towards a private monopoly operating a service such as transport or telephones is direct and immediate. Likewise if the product is some material such as steel or chemicals entering largely into manufacture and building. Having to pay monopoly prices raises general costs of production and reduces the profits of the capitalists who have to buy from the monopolists.

The effect of monopoly is sometimes indirect but no less harmful to the general body of capitalists: that is if the monopoly is in some product such as food which enters largely into the workers' cost of living. Higher prices of these articles induce workers to press for higher wages; to the detriment of profits if they succeed, to the detriment of their own standard of living if circumstances are against them.

Once it is realised what gives rise to monopolies and the way they help those who own them and injure others, it will be readily understood that there cannot under capitalism be a consistent and logical attitude towards monopoly. All that can be said of the great majority of people is that each group is against other people's monopolies, and the sectional groups change their attitudes with changing circumstances. Karl Marx in a letter written in 1852 criticised a writer who had declared that the aristocracy are on the side of monopoly and the capitalists against it. Marx pointed out that in the eighteenth century the English aristocracy had been all for the freedom of trade, but in the nineteenth century they were defenders of the corn laws which filled their pockets, and opponents of the manufacturers who had become free traders and believers in the benefits of "competition." The manufacturers wanted the abolition of the protective duties on imported corn because they saw in cheap food the certainty of low wages for their workers and consequently higher profits for themselves.

At the present time the manufacturers who buy steel are somewhat divided about renationalising the steel companies. On the one hand they don't like being dependent on a private semi-monopoly and recognise that with reorganisation and concentration the costs of producing steel might be lowered.

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## In youth is pleasure

It was on Empire Day, I remember, that I realised Miss Davies' face reminded me of a loganberry.

It was not so much that it was the colour and the shape of a loganberry, nor that it was creased and segmented into countless purple drupes. As I looked up at her that day, I noticed that her long chin was covered in fine silver down which gave it the same musty look as the loganberries which my father grew on the allotment which helped to eke out our frugal budget.

That was a long time ago, in the year when Miss Davies was my class mistress at the cheerless council school which seemed to be built entirely of dark green tiles and chocolate-stained wood, and where the smell of old books and varnish was almost as intimidating as the cane. Miss Davies was a faded spinster, who clung with a patient obstinacy to the symbols of her sobriety—to her long, plain clothes and her mirror-shined, sensible shoes. Almost certainly she is now dead and I have no wish to be unkind to her memory, for of the race of teachers which inhabited that school she was one of the gentler and more sensitive.

Some of those teachers were little short of vicious in the physical and psychological extremes to which they subjected their pupils. One of them often punched us in the back or the chest. And more than once I sat in hot misery as another of them mocked one of the children for his ragged clothes or his broken shoes.

We never hit back. That school was not in what they called a Depressed Area, but many of our fathers were chronically unemployed. Perhaps some of our parents' docile apathy had seeped into us. Miss Davies seemed to sense our plight—she was careful not to notice a pair of patched trousers and I am sure she felt for us when on Monday morning it was time to pay for the third of a pint of milk we drank each day. Children whose fathers were unemployed got the milk for nothing, and some of us endured tortures of embarrassment as we stayed in our seats while the others lined up with their money.

I for one appreciated her kindness. But children are children. It was a loganberry Miss Davies reminded me of, as she smiled down that Empire Day at the Union Jack which lay on my desk. She must have realised that it was a pitifully cheap thing, but she also probably divined what it had meant to buy it.

It was the custom at that school to hold a parade in the playground each Empire Day, and for this we were encouraged to bring a flag. The local shops saw their opportunity; I had bought mine for a halfpenny at the local cut price drapers. It was made of the shoddiest cloth, roughly coloured, stiffened with dressing and tacked onto a short stick.

I had wrung that halfpenny from my mother, who was then absorbed by the conjuring trick of feeding and clothing several children on a dole of seventeen and sixpence a week. It could not have been easy for her to part with the money. Perhaps she gave it to me so that I should not feel out of

continued from previous page

but they are not confident, in the light of experience, that nationalisation will serve the purpose.

Just for the record we can make it clear that the SPGB, alone among the political parties in this country, really is against monopoly. But for us it is not a problem of private profit-making or nationalisation, high prices or low prices, high wages or low wages because socialism will have no place for profit, or prices or wages—simply production solely for use.

H.

things at school. But I fear there may have been other reasons. For although she often did not know where the next meal was coming from, my mother had unbounded pride in the British Empire.

So I got the Union Jack, and I carried it proudly to school, and I took it with me when we spilled out into the black asphalt playground for the morning break. But mine was not the only flag. There were bigger and better ones, and one boy in particular had what seemed an enormous Union Jack.

He began swishing it backwards and forwards in the air, until the other children became gripped by a strange frenzy and went roaring around the playground in a long line, hooting and waving, with the big flag at the front. Years later I recognised the hysteria which caused Simon to be beaten to death in *Lord Of The Flies*; at the time I only knew that I was uneasy at those frantic children. I pressed my shoulder against the rough brick wall and nervously gripped my cheap little flag.

When, later in the morning, the teachers marshalled us into the parade, some of them admired the big flag, so that the boy who carried it smiled and flushed with pleasure. I held mine tremblingly aloft, and they herded us into the assembly hall for the headmaster to rant at us on the virtues of patriotism and the glorious oppressions of the British Empire.

That headmaster was perfectly suited to the staff he controlled, outdoing them all in pomposity, sourness and cruelty. I am sure that the bitterness of his speech was intended to spoil our half holiday. I went home still clutching my Union Jack, properly browbeaten and reflecting upon what I had been told of the great profit gathering enterprise which had splashed so vast an area of pink across the map and which had, in truth, built so many vast fortunes on such an enormous burden of suppression.

There were other celebrations in that school. One of my earlier memories is of the party on the Silver Jubilee of George V. This happened to fall on my birthday and I can remember wondering why they were serving us lemonade and buns, and trying to convince myself that it was nothing to do with me.

Then there was the annual dirge of Armistice Day, when we were drawn up, just before eleven o'clock, in the gloomy hall to take another dose of our headmaster's hypocrisy. He had survived the Great War and was watching with sterile bitterness as Europe moved inexorably towards 1939. He had nothing of hope or of valour to offer us—only a grating curse upon us, upon Europe, upon the world and the human race.

The staff ushered us back to the classrooms, the chill November afternoon closed in and it was almost dark when we went home. If the woman next door had been generous, there might be some stale seed cake for tea.

It is easy for an adult to be over protective to children and to under-estimate their resilience. My gorge rises when I remember that school, what it imposed upon its pupils and the pernicious nonsense on which it fed us. How many of us survived, in the sense that we have not become race-maniacs, or religious neurotics, or apathetic zombies?

The bitter fact is that when those teachers were so enthusiastically organising their cheap little parades of cowed children we were all—staff and pupils alike—suffering under capitalism at its oppressive worst. The male teachers were composed of some who had come through the Great War and those who were to be called up in 1939/45. The world was still spinning up and down in slump, when a politician could claim that the problem would be solved when the unemployment figures got down to one million.

The great crash, with its cuts in dole and in teachers' pay—was still a recent memory. The staff clung desperately to the gossamer threads of their employment which kept them out of the Labour Exchange. They could afford to wear a suit every day, to take a holiday; the headmaster even ran a very small car. But theirs was an insecure, degraded existence. They too were caught up in something which they detested but did not understand. They had little to thank capitalism for.

The teachers could do nothing about some of the propaganda they put over. They had to give us our Scripture lessons; they had to dish out the official, fatuous version of history (even supposing that any of them were aware of any other). But it is harder to excuse them for the glee with which they organised the patriotic demonstrations. It is hard to excuse the teacher who regularly, before the class, saluted a portrait of the King and Queen. It is difficult to excuse the admiration of the boys' big Union Jack.

For why should an unemployed man, or his children, have

saluted the flag? Why should a man who had come through the trenches, and lived to see the politicians' promises exposed, be proud of his nationality? Did we not, in our penury, have everything in common with the families of the unemployed in America, or Germany, or France? Was there not something wrong with a social system which created places like that school, with its defenceless children and its warped, frightened, bullying teachers?

These questions are unanswered now, and they were unanswered that Empire Day as I looked up at Miss Davies. There was deep suffering in the land but the king was on his throne, the pound was worth a pound and the Tories were in with a comfortable majority.

There was no foretelling, then, that the wounds inflicted inside and outside that school might take seed, and one day blossom into a consciousness that we can build a world where children are not oppressed, nor pilloried, nor misled but are allowed to be children while they learn to grow up into co-operative, creative human beings.

IVAN

## Class War in Australian "paradise"

POLITICALLY, paradise, it seems, is all things to all men. Among one loosely affiliated group (Labour and Communist Party supporters), it means (A) rising wages, (the Arbitration Commission of Victoria, Australia granted a £1 per week increase in the basic wage a few months ago). (B) a large and increasing proportion of nationalised industries, (recently all state loans have been over subscribed) and (C) little or no unemployment, (lately there have been more vacant jobs than workers to fill them). Among another and opposing group (the ruling class), paradise means (D) an expanding economy and rising profits, (overseas investments into Victoria, and profits have never been higher) and (E) a stable government, (last June elections, the Conservative government was again returned after many years in power). Thus at the present moment of the history of this State there are all of the conditions for paradise.

Yet from the midst of all these idyllic conditions, there is to be heard over the air and read in the newspapers, (*Age* 16th September 1964) that there exists a condition of "War" in this State. No less a person than the Premier Mr. Bolte, (pronounced Bol-tee) declares it to be so.

Now let us look more attentively at this state of purposeful war, waged by human beings among themselves. Usually we find it to be prefixed by a descriptive term e.g. generalised, such as "Colonial War," "Civil" or "World War"; or, more specifically, "Zulu War," "Civil War of England," or "World War I." In the case of which Bolte speaks we must read further down into the smaller newsprint to find out what he refers to. Here we discover it to be nothing less than "Class War." It should be noted that Bolte does not directly classify it as such, but the implication is unmistakable. Yet this implied admission of the existence of class war from the mouth of the Conservative Premier surely sounds strange and awesome to the ears of postwar society. For years we have been told that class antagonism and therefore class wars just no longer exist. These, we have been informed, belonged to the bad old days.

Since Bolte sounds off so urgently on a topic of vital concern to us all we feel it our bounden duty to more closely enquire what is the form of this warfare that he finds so

alarming? And by whom is it conducted? The *Age* tells us:

A 48 hr. strike by 120,000 State Government workers was a "declaration of war on the Government and the people" the Premier said last night.

The Trades Hall Council disputes committee decided late yesterday that the strike would begin at midnight on Monday. It will cancel or severely restrict—trains, trams, some buses, electricity and gas services and the Port of Melbourne operations until midnight on Wednesday.

Members of 39 unions in 30 Government instrumentalities and departments will be involved in the stoppage.

The unions thereby were serving 6 days notice upon the Chief executive of Victoria. "The strike will be called off ONLY if the Premier agrees to see T.H.C. officials immediately to discuss longstanding claims by State Workers."

And these claims four in number are: (1) removal of differences in the rate of pay of workers doing the same job in different departments. (2) increased margins. (3) £4 per week industry loading. (4) an extra week of annual leave.

These threatened strikes and ultimatums are not a bolt (no pun on the Premier's name is here intended) from the blue. Immediately before and since the June elections of this year returned his Government to office, Bolte has faced several manifestations of this lately admitted class war. On May 29, Government workers held a 24-hour stoppage of work and on August 12th again a similar stoppage was intended but was deferred by a compromise. Indeed, this latest proposed 48-hour strike of Victorian State employees has again been deferred.

Two more items of interest for those who vaguely feel that perhaps nationalisation of industries is in some manner to their advantage and thereby worth striving for; And both items are provided by the *Age* Melbourne. In headlines (17th September, 1964), we are informed that "Army to do work of Dock strikers" . . . . The Federal Government has decided to use servicemen to load troop transport H.M.A.S. Sydney if a strike of civilian crane drivers continues at Garden Island Dockyard in Sydney.

The crane drivers who belong to the Federated Engine Drivers and Firemans Association declared the Sydney



"black" following the dismissal of a union delegate.

So the Army, itself a nationalised institution, under the sole and direct control of the Federal Government, is always ready to act as strike breakers.

The second news 25th September, 1964. Nearly 20,000 railway workers throughout Queensland began a 24-hour work stoppage at midnight last night.

This stoppage stems from demands for restoration of service leave, payment of £4 per week industry allowance, and

wage increases.

Yet the Labour and Communist Party trade union leaders and politicians, actual and would-be, still ask us to believe that immediate and future ailments such as poverty can be remedied by more and more nationalisation of industry.

What can we expect for the future? The answer is simple. Within the prevailing class divided society there can be no paradise, only a parasite/host mode of existence for capitalist and working class respectively.

PETER FUREY.

## Reminiscences of an old member

PART 2

WHEN the 1914-1918 war broke out I was put in an internment camp. The long confinement at least offered opportunities for further enlightenment and discussions on politics. Lectures and meetings were held and prisoners were also free to debate subjects in all kinds of private circles, language classes, etc. Soon groups particularly interested in Socialism were regularly gathering round our platform. The discussion became particularly lively when Comrade Neuman, also an active member of the S.P.G.B. (translator of Kautsky's Erfurter programme) later joined the army of internees. Apart from lectures, a very successful May Day meeting was held with Neuman as the principal speaker. Among the many adherents to the Socialist case were Mundl, Guilke, Bankofsky, who all joined the S.P.G.B. after their release. With others, after I had been deported, I kept in correspondence from the Continent for many years. Most of them have long since died.

If there was comparative freedom to propagate revolutionary socialism on the Continent for a few years after the first war, it became rapidly more risky with the advent of Hitler. Even here, in Austria, the struggle for power between the two big electoral machines, had become so intense and bitter that it led to that terrible butchery on the Vienna Ringstrasse in July 1927, when nearly a hundred demonstrators were shot dead by Austrian police and army—and to other innumerable victims. Then in February 1934 Dollfuss and the Heimwehr smashed the Social Democratic Party in another, far greater, bloodbath. In 1935 Dollfuss was murdered and in 1938 Austria was incorporated in the German Reich. Then came the Second World War and the four power military occupation, lasting till 1956.

Even what little the few of us did, or rather could do, was not without peril, especially as personally I had, of course, not always kept my socialist light under a bushel before the years that were so fatal

for Austrian, German, Italian and Spanish democracy. In Vienna alone more than 1,500 persons were executed by the Nazis for political reasons.

I may be allowed to repeat here what I wrote in a letter to the S.P.G.B.'s International Secretary:

"While the very democratic British government takes the credit for my one and only victimisation for political reasons (they repatriated me to the Continent against my will in 1919 after four years internment as alien-enemy and undesirable subject) the family (wife, mother-in-law and two boys) survived unmolested the fascist onslaught on democracy in the civil war in Austria in 1934, the Anschluss of Hitler in 1938, and the second world war. As a socialist I never lifted a finger in support of those criminal capitalist operations. Though I could not, of course, after the 1934 upheaval continue socialist propaganda (as I had done in England, especially in the Internment camp) and had, until the departure of the occupation troops in 1956, to keep underground, I am proud to share with other comrades the merit of never having allowed the socialist light to be extinguished. My radical politics were known (if not shared) by the colleagues at the office where I worked and in wider circles, so that a really anxious time began for us in Vienna in 1934; especially for my wife, who had never forgotten our fate at the end of the first war. But I was lucky—nobody ever betrayed me or played me a dirty trick, although practically everybody who knew me and mostly appeared to agree with my criticism of things, turned out to have actually been or had become Nazi."

Considering the very troublous times we lived through, we did relatively well and had many good opportunities with jobs over here, travelling extensively in Europe. My son Lawrence returned to London before Hitler came; he was greatly helped by the comrades and soon joined the Party, in which he is heart and soul.

My family and I had to leave my job in London at the outbreak of the 1914 war. After my internment in 1915 and repatriation at the end of the war, my London employers offered me a job at one of their enterprises in the Rheinland, with accommodation for my family near the works. If we left the firm and the Rheinland three years later for Austria, it was only to fill a contract I had previously made with the Austrian Krupp Metalworks Berndorf, where we stayed for four years. Our late comrade Fitzgerald visited us there in 1926 and again in 1928. By that time we had moved to Vienna, where Fitzgerald saw me at my final job, with the Austrian Official Tourist Office. Both his visits were fruitful for Socialist propaganda, as arrangements were made for distributing the *Socialist Standard* in quite a number of bookshops in Vienna. A large number of the pamphlet *Socialism and Religion* was also distributed at "language courses" I held at the Krupp works. I am sorry that not a single copy of that pamphlet is left in my hands now. Sorry also that interest in Socialism could not easily be revived after the dark years that followed, and that a good number of comrades I had gathered around me dropped out. But new contacts have now been made with a group of dissenters from the big S.P.A. the *Bund Demokratischer Sozialisten*, which issues a monthly typed paper called the *Wiener Freies Wort*. Direct contact with the S.P.G.B.'s Overseas Contact Secretary has long been established, and it is our ambition to make the S.P.A. dissenters adopt the Declaration of Principles and eventually to make it a true revolutionary companion party. There is real hope for the future, but we must not lose patience with those undoubtedly earnest workers. A challenging sixteen page pamphlet and Election Manifesto is being distributed. It contains, of course, the Declaration of Principles.

Has the world changed since I set out? In some respects it certainly has. As I

[continued bottom next page]

## Report on a visit to USA and Canada

During the months July, August and September I was in the United States on a student vacation scheme. During this time I was in Boston for 10 weeks and in Montreal and Toronto for one week. In Boston I was able to take part in all the activities of the local, indoor and outdoor meetings, socials and leaflet distribution as well as attend the W.S.P. conference as our fraternal delegate. In September, together with W.S.P. members Rab and Lyle visited Montreal and Toronto to meet members of the Socialist Party of Canada and attend various meetings that had been arranged.

### BOSTON

The Local (Branch) has a very active membership, both locally and nationally. As will be appreciated the political atmosphere in the United States is considerably different from that in Britain. There the working class have no interest in politics which quite literally is an in-fight between members of various rival political gangs without even the popular participation which occurs in Britain. This makes it all the harder for the American Socialists to put over our case. It means that some of the traditional activities of the Socialist Party of Great Britain, such as debates with opponents and large indoor meetings cannot be carried on. On the other hand, members

in the U.S. have openings which we have not as for instance, the purchase of radio time and radio programmes in which listeners can participate by telephone.

In Boston activities are in the hands of a Local Administrative Committee, composed of the younger members of the Party. They are responsible for organising all activities which consist of indoor and outdoor meetings and leaflet distribution. Indoor meetings each week take the form of a talk or tape-recordings or a film followed by discussion. Outdoor meetings are held every Sunday on Boston Common. The W.S.P. is the only organisation to avail themselves of these opportunities, although the conditions are not ideal owing to the persistent attempts by Cuban refugees and various patriots to shout down our speakers. Occasionally protest meetings on Civil Rights, peace, slum clearance

### The WESTERN SOCIALIST

Journal for Socialism  
in the  
U.S.A and Canada

6d monthly

continued from previous page

have mentioned before, in 1902 there was no thought or fear of war that was to come; you could travel across Europe without passports, you could work in any country without labour permits. In all my wanderings in Germany, Switzerland, France and England, the first time I ever had to report my presence to a police office was in London at the outbreak of the first war. What a change indeed has come over all this! Today people are hedged in everywhere by frontiers, barriers and police guards, exacting and scrutinizing your personal documents. Some frontiers, made more impassable by barbed wire, often electrically charged, and hidden bombs, run across big cities like Jerusalem, Berlin, and others. There is one thing that has not changed in well over a hundred years, one thing that has so far survived all crises and upheavals, and dozens of major capitalist wars. This one unchanged feature is the fundamental status of the working class of the world, as the disinherited wage slaves of the capitalist class.

R. FRANK

### NEWS FROM MID HERTS

Much activity has taken place during the last year in Welwyn Garden City, Stevenage and Hatfield. The Group reports that the number of members has increased over this period. Seventeen discussion meetings have been held, most of them being held at Welwyn Garden City Community Centre. Fortnightly outdoor meetings were held at Stevenage Town Centre.

Canvassing of the *Socialist Standard* in the three areas has been regularly carried out and sales have risen from 2½ to 10 dozen per month. The *Standard* is regularly available in the public libraries at Hatfield and Welwyn Garden City.

The above is a short report of the activities of this Group who would welcome sympathisers and members in the district to help carry on the good propaganda work they are doing. K. Knight is the secretary — full address under "Groups" in this issue.

etc. are covered by the Local's literature sellers. During the University term other opportunities for putting over our case are available. All in all, prospects in Boston are hopeful.

### MONTREAL

Members here speak French, but to assist in their activities, leaflets and literature in French are needed, especially as French Canada is in the middle of a period of political ferment, following the overthrow of the backward-looking Duplessis regime in 1960. Many ideas on Marxism and on separatism are circulated and it is important that our voice be heard.

### TORONTO

Regular indoor and outdoor meetings are held in Toronto which, like Montreal is hoping soon to form a Local. Literature is sold, and it is hoped that with the help from other Locals, the support here will increase in the near future.

The hospitality and help received from members in both the United States and Canada was greatly appreciated and for which I am extremely grateful. It is a sign of the genuine fraternal relations which exist between the various sections of the Socialist Movement.

A.L.B.

### ESSENTIAL READING

The Case for Socialism	1/-
50th Anniversary Issue of the Socialist Standard	4d.
Art, Labour and Socialism	1/-
Questions of Today	1/-
Is Labour Government the Way to Socialism?	4d.
Nationalisation or Socialism	6d.
Communist Manifesto and the last Hundred Years	1/-
Principles and Policy	6d.
Socialist Party and War	1/-
Socialist Comment	6d.
Schools Today	6d.

All literature obtainable from SPGB,  
52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4  
POSTAGE 3d. EXTRA



## MEETINGS

## GLASGOW MEETINGS

Sundays, 7.30 pm  
Woodside Public Halls

December 6th  
**WHY WE ARE  
REVOLUTIONARIES**  
Speaker: V. Vanni

December 13th  
**WHY WE OPPOSE LEADERSHIP**  
Speaker: J. Fleming

December 20th  
**THE RISE OF NATIONALISATION**  
Speaker: T. Mulheron  
December 27th

**RELIGION—ITS RISE & FALL**  
Speaker: J. Richmond

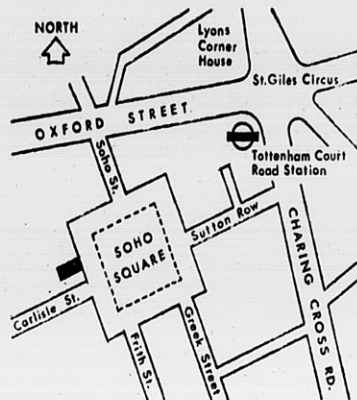
## NOTTINGHAM MEETINGS

First Sunday of each month  
Co-op Centre, Heathcoat Street

Sunday, 6th December  
**HOUSING**  
Speaker: J. D'Arcy

## BLOOMSBURY LECTURES

Asquith Room, 2 Soho Sq., W.1.  
Sundays, 8 pm (doors open 7.30)



6th December  
**LONDON TRANSPORT STORY**  
Speaker: W. Waters

13th December  
**THE RUBBER INDUSTRY**  
Speaker: J. Carter

3rd January  
**SCIENCE—SERVANT OR  
MASTER**  
Speaker: H. Young

**STEVENAGE LECTURE**  
54 Sish Lane, Stevenage

Monday, 7th December, 8 pm  
**POLITICAL SITUATION IN  
AMERICA**  
Speaker: G. McClatchie

**WELWYN GARDEN CITY**  
Community Centre

Thursday, 17th December, 8 pm  
**HONEST TO GOD**  
Speaker: J. Law

## OUR BROMLEY CANDIDATE'S MESSAGE

*The Bromley "Advertiser" invited our candidate, E. Grant, in the Parliamentary Election to state his position. We print below his statement which appeared in the issue of October 8th.*

"My message is unorthodox. I am not a leader. I make no promises. I do not ask for your vote. Our election statement does not feature my photograph, neither does it say what a wonderful fellow I am.

The membership of the Socialist Party of Great Britain decided that, in line with our democratic approach to politics and desire to disseminate the Socialist idea, we would use our limited funds to make a token stand in two constituencies, Bromley and Glasgow Woodside.

Here the real alternatives are made clear: either the continuance of capitalism, with all the miseries and indignities that flow from it, or the establishment of world-wide social equality based upon the common ownership of the means of

living. We seek a mandate for Socialism. Nothing less will do.

Faced with a world in which two-thirds of mankind is starving, a class-divided world wracked with war and haunted by insecurity, the Socialist is one who realises that to solve such problems our capitalist way of life which gives rise to them must be replaced by a new social structure. It is both necessary and practical for the working nine-tenths of humanity to organise, consciously and democratically, to dispossess the owning one-tenth, and to place in the hands of the community the means of providing comfort and plenty for all.

Socialism involves far more even than the provision of abundance, of which we would take freely according to our needs. When work ceases to be employment, it will not remain the meaningless drudgery it is when we are forced to do it for a wage or salary. When the world's resources are held in common and things are made not for profit but solely for use, work will take on a meaning it cannot have today.

Craftsmanship will flourish and the gap between the creative artist and the automata of the offices and the workshops seeking escape into mass-produced leisure pursuits and hooliganism will be closed. We ourselves shall decide where we work, how long, and at what tempo.

Technology, now so largely devoted to developing means of destruction, will be diverted towards eliminating undesirable toil. All races will live together in harmony. We shall become integrated, creative human beings.

It is a mistake to believe that the Labour Party, with its petty national mentality and its list of palliatives, contributes towards Socialism. Like the Conservatives and Liberals, they aspire to administer capitalism and, in power, do all the terrible things this task involves. The "socialism" of the Labour Party, like that of the Communists, is a myth.

A word about I.N.D.E.C. They protest against one of the greatest dangers we face and imagine it possible to isolate the nuclear problem from all the others and solve it within the capitalist framework. The truth is that war itself dictates the weapons, and capitalism is war-prone. The urgent task before us, therefore, is its abolition.

I urge the electors to consider this revolutionary proposition, and to act upon it."

## CAMBERWELL BRANCH

Tape-recorded Lectures at  
52 Clapham High Street, S.W.4  
Mondays, 8 pm

7th December  
**LABOUR THEORY OF VALUE  
BEFORE MARX**  
Speaker: G. McClatchie

21st December  
**U.S.A. RADIO INTERVIEW**  
Speaker: E. Grant  
Discussion after recording

## WEST LONDON

Westcott Lodge, Hammersmith  
Lower Mall (facing river)

**TWO FILMS ON JAPAN**  
Friday, 11th December, 8 pm  
"The Japanese Family"  
and  
"Working Conditions"

## PADDINGTON

Discussions or lectures every  
Wednesday, 9 pm  
The Royal Oak, York St., W1  
(near Marylebone Station)

2nd December  
**HONEST TO GOD**  
Speaker: J. Law

9th December  
**15th century ENGLAND**

Speaker: L. Dale  
16th December  
**NEW ASPECTS OF  
PROPAGANDA**  
Speaker: C. Wilson

23rd December  
**SOCIAL**

SOCIALIST STANDARD: Published by the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High Street, London, S.W.4. Printed by R. B. Taylor & Son, Ltd (T.U.) 57 Banner Street, London E.C.1.

## Labour's not so new Britain

Shortage of all the good things of life is nothing new to a worker, circumscribed as his life is by the size of his wage packet. That's something no politicians have been able to do anything about, but it certainly does not stop them from promising. In fact, there was certainly no shortage of promises during the recent general election.

Not that the capitalist parties necessarily wait until the election date is announced. The Labour Party had prepared its election programme months beforehand, and it was detailed in a series of speeches by Harold Wilson in the first four months of this year. Nine of these speeches have been reprinted in a Penguin Special: *Wilson—Selected Speeches 1964* (3/6d), and after you have read them, there should not be much doubt in your mind whose influence was dominant in the Party's subsequent manifesto.

It would be as well to read both documents and then keep them safely preserved for future reference, because workers' memories are notoriously short and now that Wilson is Prime Minister, we may expect the promise-breaking to start at any time. Let us take a look at some of the pledges in the Penguin Book. First of all (of course) the housing problem. Yes, it's down for solving for the umpteenth time but what does Mr. Wilson mean by "solving"? Well, among other things there will be many more council houses built for letting—what a prospect; building land will be taken into public ownership and there will be no further rent de-control. Cheap (and nasty) houses for the workers! That is the

measure of his "solution."

Then there is education. A shrewd stroke this, because Mr. Wilson can point to the severe deficiencies of the present set up, the dreary Victorian buildings and oversized classes in which many working class children are forced to study and the fact that there are not nearly enough teachers to go round. Thirteen years of Tory rule can be blamed for this, thinks Wilson, forgetting that the Tories in their turn inherited the mess which six years of Labour Government had failed to clear up.

We are going to have full employment, too, under Labour. This apparently is going to be assured by expanding production and trade by at least four per cent per year. Exports will be stepped up and industry encouraged to produce many of the goods which are now imported. It will all be done by "a national plan"—in an unplannable world. The little matter of the anarchy of the capitalist market is something which is cheerfully ignored, but we may be sure that this anarchy will be the excuse—phrased differently of course—which will be trotted out if a recession occurs and the unemployment figures rise.

Mr. Wilson is nothing if not a man of the people, the whole people. That is to say, there is something for everyone in this book. To the Commonwealth more trade and closer links. To the medical profession more doctors, better hospitals and training facilities. To the old age pensioners bigger pensions and free bus passes. To the industrialists an expanding market and reduced labour costs. Yes, he

made no bones about wage restraint in his speech at Edinburgh on March 24th. This is one promise which doubtless will be kept:

You can ask for this policy (wage restraint) if production and productivity are rising, you can ask for it if it is intended, if it is envisaged, against the background of a climate of true social justice.

The results of The New Britain under Labour will not be much different from those of the old Britain under the Tories, as far as workers are concerned. That Mr. Wilson is an astute politician is undeniable, but it will be capitalism which will determine his actions in the months ahead, not his astuteness. It has happened many times before to politicians of all parties, which is why their policies show such remarkable similarity to each other. "Little Sir Echo" is the contemptuous expression which Wilson uses more than once in describing Tory imitations of Labour Policy. Apparently, he is not clever enough to realise just what a self-condemnation this really is.

E.T.C.

## DONATION

Many thanks to ANON of Maida Hill, London, for donation of £5 to party funds.

## OXFORD GROUP

A group of the party has been formed in Oxford. Will our readers who live in the area contact A. Robertson, 52 Henley Street

## A TOUCH OF SMETHWICK continued from back page

back of it all he is not so full of brotherly love for those of darker skins as many people may have thought. Nor should we forget the record of the Labour Party when last in power.

Then, Gordon-Walker was their Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. In 1950, he had no hesitation in exiling the Bamangwato Tribe's elected leader Seretse Khama, from Bechuanaland, when he had the temerity to marry a white woman, Ruth Williams. There was strong suspicion that he had been influenced by the South African government's hysterical opposition to mixed marriages; nevertheless, he maintained a gentlemanly but stubborn refusal to publish the report of the official enquiry into the affair.

However, times change somewhat, and with the emergence of more African independent states, the astute capitalist politician realises that overt racialism can be a very hot potato indeed. Even Alderman Griffiths has toned down his remarks since the election, as was obvious from his maiden speech, which played down the issue. Anyway, there will be an increasing "coloured" vote in Britain over the next few years, and Griffiths will probably not be the only one trying to forget

the things he said in 1964.

Allowing for all this, however, colour prejudice is likely to be with us for some time to come. Why do we say this? Because in their ignorance of the real cause of their problems, workers will always seek a scapegoat. No legal enactment can deal with that. At the turn of the century it was the Jews of London's East End who were blamed for overcrowding and squalor, among other things. Then it was the turn of the Irish. As these minorities have become assimilated, antagonism towards them has lessened, although by no means disappeared. With the Negro or Indian worker it is a different story. Their dark skin will pick them out in a crowd and provide a ready focus for the outbreaks of frustration and violence which are so much a feature of private property society.

Yes, workers everywhere have a lot to learn. They have yet to grasp the idea that what really matters is their class status, not the colour of their skins. It is a depressing picture—but not a hopeless one.

E.T.C.



# The Passing Show

— "A merry Christmas you suckers . . ." (Paddy Roberts). This is the month when everyone is caught in a deluge of hypocrisy. It is the time of the year when the consumer goods market is stuffed with a horrifying mass of gadgets and gifts of all kinds, when traders are anxiously stocking their shelves in the hope of a sales recovery after the autumn slack, and when workers are getting their Christmas lists ready for the annual "exchange" of presents.

We mentioned hypocrisy. The G.P.O. takes on extra staff to cope with the mountain of mail which will appear in the fortnight or so before the 25th—a large portion of it greetings cards. Many of these cards will be sent to people whom, if you are honest with yourselves, you care little or nothing about; but such is the pressure of Yuletide tradition, that you convince yourselves to the contrary and then forget all about it for another twelve months.

Whatever one may feel about the religious origin of Christmas—and it's worth hardly a shrug of the shoulders—we should perhaps examine the "peace and goodwill" message and ask ourselves whether it measures up to the world we know. First of all, is there peace in the world? Maybe the various politicians would call it that, just because at this moment there is no major conflict going on. It could more truthfully be described as an uneasy lull while each side builds ever more terrible weapons, waiting for the day when they will be used. The conflicts leading to war are as strong as ever, and while they exist peace can never be a reality.

Then again, is there really goodwill to all men? Smethwick is a timely reminder of the conditions which make an empty mockery of the very sentiment. For the prejudices of Smethwick on October 15th are basically those of every non-Socialist the world over, on every day of the year. Prejudice between people takes many forms, racialism being only one of them, and will be with us in one shape or another as long as capitalism lasts. This is the system which throws us against each other in competition and provides the breeding ground for the petty snobberies, undignified squabbles, the race to keep up with the Joneses, the bitterness and often the outbreaks of naked violence.

No doubt many of you this season will eat and drink a bit too much, and tell your workmates what great guys they are. You will buy drinks all round on December 24th, and spew half of it up on the way home. You will listen to the maudlin platitudes of the Queen's speech the next afternoon, and tell yourselves it's not such a bad world after all. But in the bleary aftermath, the ugly truth will still be there. It will *still* be a capitalist world. You will *still* be members of the working class and the problems of twelve months ago will *still* face you in all their urgency.

## The same old story

The past year or two have seen a lot of talk about a national wages policy. All the main political parties had this in their recent election programmes, suitably hedged round with meaningless adjectives such as "just," "realistic," "planned" etc . . . . But stripped of the verbiage, what does it mean in practice? Simply that workers' demands for higher wages will be resisted, as always. True, the politicians will talk about "national interest" and the need to make "our" goods more competitive on the world market, and "sharing the burden more fairly." They will try to convince us that increased production and static wage rates will mean a higher standard of living for all.

Do they themselves really believe what they are so persistent in telling us? If they do, you'd think they would be the first to cut their own incomes to the bone, but a glance at the salaries of some of the new Labour government ministers will quickly give the lie to this. And the rank-and-file M.P.s will probably be quick to vote themselves a rise of several hundred pounds a year if the opportunity presents itself.

But if you think that this is a peculiarity of English politics, you'd better take a good look elsewhere. All over the capitalist world, pressure for wage increases meets with the same bitter opposition as here. Some really hefty strikes have been fought out in such countries as Germany, France and U.S.A. over the past few years, to the usual claptrap talked by those in power. New Zealand, that example of state-subsidised paradise so beloved of the left, has certainly not gone unscathed in the field of labour disputes, and currently is suffering an economic crisis similar to Britain's. Prime Minister Holyoake has called for "common sense, restraint, and adjustment" (*Guardian* Oct. 24th) to meet the situation, although only a few days previously, M.P.s had awarded themselves a 39 per cent salary increase.

Over the water in Australia too, Parliamentarians have been setting a grand example in abstemious living. Says *The Guardian* of Oct. 29th:

The salaries of Members in both Houses are increased from £A2,750 to £A3,500, plus an additional £A250 on their constituency allowances which may vary between £A800 and £A1,050 a year. . . . All Ministers, Parliamentary officers, and Leaders of Opposition in both Houses receive higher salaries and allowances. The Prime Minister . . . receives additional salary and allowances bringing them to a total of £A17,100.

Labour opposition leader Calwell supported the increases. He did not think it could be said "that members had been avaricious or greedy." Of course not. They have just forgotten the dire warnings which they themselves have uttered about the disastrous consequences of higher wages. But then, they don't believe what we're told, and neither should we.

## A touch of Smethwick

Despite the politicians' protests, the racial issue poked its ugly nose into the recent election campaign and two Labour candidates were toppled by it—Fenner Brockway at Slough and Patrick Gordon-Walker at Smethwick. Even by the accepted standards of capitalist politics, the new Tory M.P. for Smethwick, Alderman Griffiths, was said to have fought a dirty campaign; he accepted the help of avowedly fascist workers like Mrs. Crow, and lost no opportunity of appealing to working class ignorance and prejudice along racialist and nationalist lines. His meetings were noted for the deliberate way in which he played upon the baser emotions and feelings of his audiences. In this way it was fatally easy for Gordon-Walker, whose popularity anyway had been falling in the area with each election, to be out manoeuvred and lose the fight. His party now supports immigration control, but apparently he was unable to square this with his opponent's taunt that Labour voted against it when Gaitskell was their leader.

To all accounts, Gordon-Walker fought a "gentlemanly" campaign, but what about his own feelings on the racial question? During the election he hotly denied that his daughter was marrying a "black" or that he owned a house in Smethwick and let it out to coloured people. Perhaps at the

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